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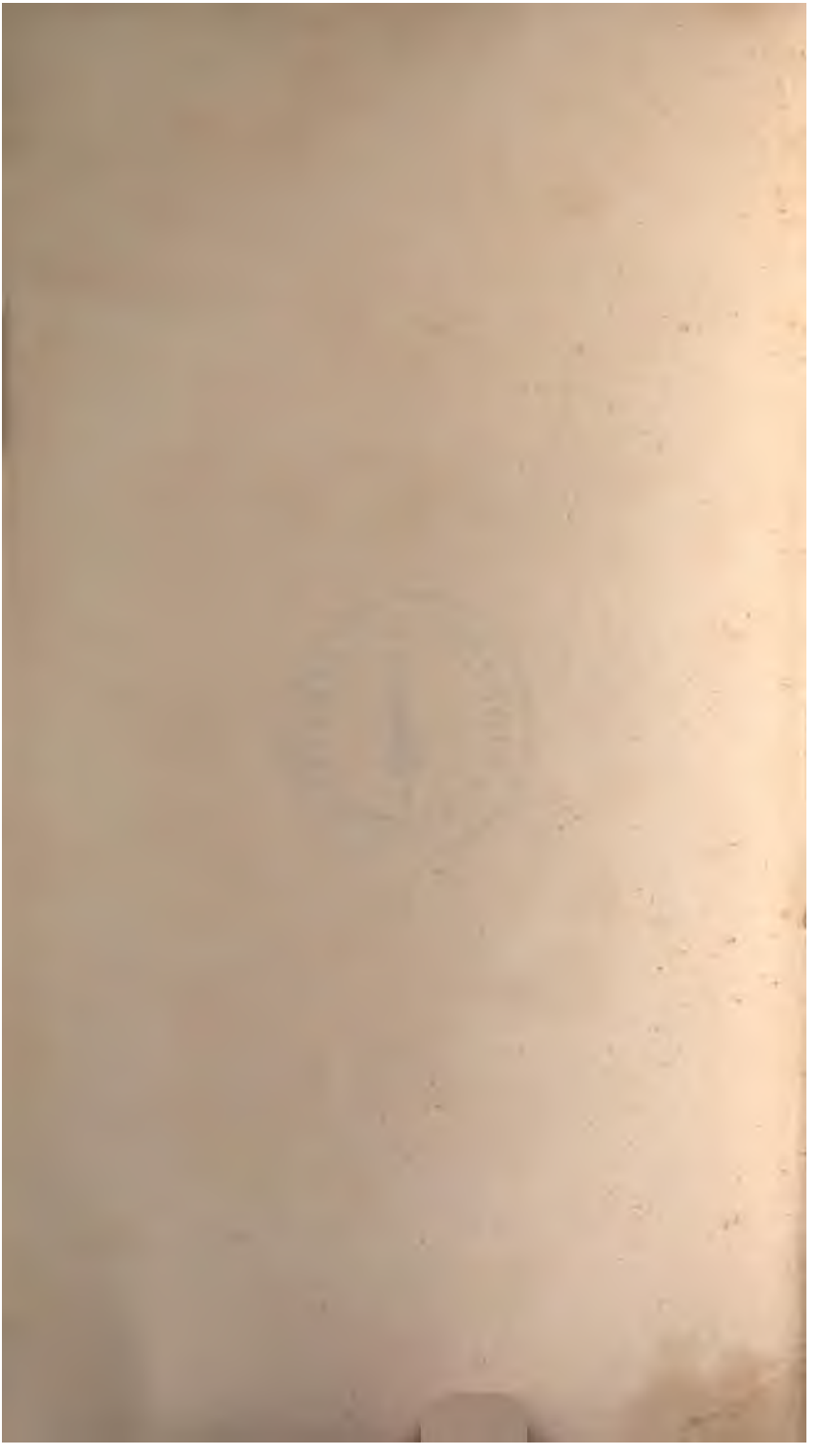

THE

LIFE

OF

GENERAL DUMOURIEZ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

NON OMNIS MORIAR.

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THE LIFE OF GENERAL DUMOURIEZ.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Picture of France.

THE terms *government* and *conſtitution* have always been confounded in France. The monarchy ſubſiſted during the ſpace of 1400 years, and as the government was deſtitute of any fixed and certain baſis, it neceſſarily experienced an infinite number of ſhocks and variations. Nothing ſhort of a conſtitution could regulate its progreſs, by placing it on a ſtable foundation.

Without going further back than the time of Louis XIII, it may be fairly aſſerted

that the kings of France have always ſupported their authority in an arbitrary manner. Louis XIII, or rather his prime miniſter, the cardinal de Richlieu, governed by *terrour*; Louis XIV by *dignity*. Louis XV, after a brilliant reign until 1748, dwindled into contempt. From that moment theſe two ſupports of the French monarchy, *terrour* and *dignity*, were no longer within the graſp of its adminiſtration.

The reign of the duke de Choiſeul was more brilliant than ſolid; his credit fell proſtrate before that of a vile * courtezan. The monarch no longer poſſeſſed *dignity*, the miniſter could no more inſpire *terrour*, and the government experienced a rapid degradation.

The ſhort reign of the duke d'Aiguillon was only diſtinguiſhed by the gloomy deſire of imitating his grand uncle; but poſſeſſing neither his vigour nor his genius, and being deſpiſed even by a deſpicable monarch, he had ſtill more enfeebled the abſolute authority of the prince by the efforts made by

* Madame Dubarry.—*Tranſ.*

him

him to ſuſtain it, becauſe thoſe efforts conſiſted ſolely in intrigues. It was neceſſary in France, if the king wiſhed to be maſter, that he ſhould either reign himſelf, or permit ſomebody to reign in his place. Louis XV neither did the one nor the other.

Another cauſe of the ſtability or deſtruction of all governments, conſiſts in the ſtate of the finances. The wars of Louis XIV, and thoſe of Louis XV, but ſtill more the enormous depredations which were committed, annihilated the grand principle on which the ſtrength of kings and the tranquillity of nations is founded.

Plutarch ſaid many years ago, "Nothing is more likely to produce diſorders in a ſtate, than to render the public revenue the prey of favour, rather than the recompenſe of ſervices."

In this point of view, the abuſes that had taken place were carried to extremes. The adminiſtration of the finances had become a kind of *Pharaoh* table. Every controller-general brought along with him his bank, that is to ſay, his projects for ſucking the blood of the people. The moment

he broke another was ready to ſupply his place. The courtiers ſported with miniſters; they made or unmade them, juſt as it was likely to enſure their plunder; and they themſelves deſpiſed a government which they could diſturb at their pleaſure, by the placing or diſplacing of their own puppets.

No conſtitutional body exiſted which could bridle theſe dilapidations. The parliaments indeed affected the ſuperintendance of them; but they were either bought over, or their vain remonſtrances were ridiculed; and when they gave any degree of trouble to Louis XV, he was accuſtomed by means of his chancellor Maupeou to diſſolve them, and create new judicial magiſtrates, under the name of ſuperiour councils.

The nobility did not form a body. The clergy conſtituted a ſeparate republic, from which *free gifts* were exacted. Some provinces enjoyed ſtates, but the moment they preſumed to employ juſt remonſtrances, they were treated as rebels. The people were conſidered as nothing. Public evils were at their full height. For the laſt twenty years a general bankruptcy had been announced.

nounced. The abbé Terry, the moſt wicked and the moſt able of the controllers-general of that reign, had the impudent honeſty to aſſert that it was indiſpenſable. Louis XV dared not to attempt it. Plunged into an abyſs of apathy and debauchery, he deemed himſelf extremely happy in putting off the evil hour by heaping debts upon debts, without caring what might become of his ſucceſſor.

A death worthy his debauchery, at length diſembarraſſed France of him, and placed his grandſon, the unfortunate Louis XVI, a prince deſerving of a better fate, on the throne. Never did a monarch commence his career with purer intentions, or was worſe ſeconded, more betrayed, or more thwarted. The moral virtues, goodneſs, juſtice, economy, moderation, and the moſt precious of all, a diſtruſt of his own inexperience, and the mediocrity of his talents: theſe qualifications pierced through the deficiencies of a very negligent education, and even of a very clowniſh perſon.

The firſt ſtep taken by him, with an intention truly praiſeworthy, was to ſummon

to his aſſiſtance an old man of eighty, formerly poſſeſſed of great talents, and an able miniſter, whom twenty years of exile ought to have cured of the vices of a court. This miſerable man has proved the deſtruction of his maſter, who had ſelected him for his Mentor; he now proved as much attached to frivolity and buffoonery, as he had been during his youth; he ſurrounded him with a frivolous court; led aſtray a young queen, who poſſeſſed a great character, and to whoſe way of thinking he might have given a better direction; ſeduced the king's brothers by his complaiſance for their prodigality, and completed the ſcheme of ruining France, and of rendering its government deſpicable.

This is the man who opened the fatal box, whence all the calamities and crimes of Frenchmen have iſſued. Unhappy Louis, unfortunate queen, it was Maurepas who was the original cauſe of your martyrdom! If he had poſſeſſed a heart, if he had been penetrated with the extent of the duties which the confidence of a young monarch impoſed upon him, you would have ſtill

ſurvived;

ſurvived; and if France had not poſſeſſed a conſtitution, at leaſt its government would have reſumed its dignity, and the people would have bleſſed the Mentor of a good king!

His death would have been a public benefit, if in this feeble and corrupted court there had been one worthy man, whom Louis XVI could have oppoſed to the torrent of depravity and weakneſs, which then ſhook, and was ſoon about to overturn his throne. Thirty-eight miniſters, who in the ſpace of fourteen years traverſed the tottering edifice of the monarchy, gave a finiſhing blow to its foundations. Necker had the courage to expoſe himſelf to the premierſhip. He poſſeſſed honeſt intentions, and ſome talents: but he was a foreigner, utterly unacquainted with France; it would have been neceſſary for him either to have been a prince of the blood, or one of the moſt noble *caſts* in the kingdom, in order to have combated, with ſucceſs, perſonal intereſt, inſolence, knavery, avarice, and all the paſſions which erected an impenetrable barrier between him and his maſter. The two

grand ſupports of government, terrour and dignity, were alſo wanting. Although below the univerſal enthuſiaſm he inſpired, he was yet above the general contempt with which he was covered during the laſt moments of his miniſtry.

Louis XVI during his whole reign was the ſport of thoſe very perſons whom he moſt loved. Not being able to inculcate real vices, they contrived to inſpire him with factitious ones, ſuch as anger and the love of wine. But they employed a ſtill more terrible weapon to diſgrace him: this was ridicule. To this may be added the blunders and the follies committed by the higher ranks of the court, the proceſs about the necklace *, and a variety of ſcandalous anecdotes; in ſhort, the black cloud of ſcorn was collecting over the royal heads. The ſtorm at length burſt, and then there was not a ſingle man to be found in that court who had the courage to ſacrifice himſelf to

* The author here alludes to the famous ſtory of the diamond necklace, in which the queen, cardinal de Rohan, and a female adventurer called the counteſs de la Motte, were implicated.—*Tranſ.*

ſave

ſave this good prince. All fled, abandoned him, and carried into a foreign land their complaints and their rage, and thus increaſed that tempeſt to which they permitted him to expoſe himſelf, alone and unattended.

Louis was deſtitute of forethought. The purity of his own mind made him ſeek out remedies for the calamities of his ſubjects. After having aboliſhed ſtatute labour * and the torture; after having endeavoured to attain a great naval force by the conſtruction of a ſea-port; after having eſtabliſhed economy, as far as in him lay, by great changes in his domeſtic and military houſehold, he thought to complete all by convoking the nation, not, like his predeceſſors, to deceive and oppreſs, but to conſult with it, like the good father of a family, relative to the wounds of the ſtate. The nation had already anticipated him by ſtudying thoſe ſubjects with which it had hitherto but little occupied its attention.

The American war did not form great generals, but the young men employed in

* *Les corvées.*

it,

it, had an opportunity of examining a new people, who were governed by a ſage conſtitution. Their heads became giddy. They brought home ill digeſted ideas, and wiſhing to adapt them to the national genius, they ſet on fire, and lighted up a volcano which has covered with ruins and with rubbiſh this land of happineſs.

The phlegm and ſagacity of the Americans was wanting; had they poſſeſſed theſe, thoſe modern legiſlators might have proved uſeful.

Louis began his reign by recalling the parliaments, and he proved by this that he was not afraid of remonſtrances. But Brienne, a ſhuffling, weak, and perfidious miniſter, followed the ſteps of his predeceſſors, and excited by a keeper of the ſeals, as great a Marplot, and more hot headed than himſelf, iſſued out *lettres de cachet* againſt the parliament of Paris in 1787, which ſerved no other purpoſe than to diſcover the weakneſs of the court, and enlighten the people. Brienne and Lamoignon were indeed ſacrificed, but the evil was irreparable.

Soon after this the quarrels of Necker and Calonne

Calonne developed the myſterious ſcience of the finances, and all the world then ſpoke, wrote, and reflected on the principles of government, and it began to be perceived, that they muſt ſeek ſomewhere elſe for reſources againſt the evils with which their own was overwhelmed.

The diſgrace of Necker completed the public chagrin. The nation was in this critical ſtate when Louis and his miniſters called her in to their aſſiſtance.

Calonne had procured the diſgrace of Necker, and the attachment of the public for the latter rendered the part of his ſucceſſor ſtill more difficult to be ſuſtained: he diſplayed much ability, many reſources, and above all, was very daring; but did he poſſeſs thoſe virtues which inſpire confidence? He drew up a grand plan of the finances in four ſeparate memoirs; it is ſaid that the two laſt, which they did not give him time to make ſufficiently known, are well executed.

He was afraid to convene the ſtates general. The court had already committed a great errour reſpecting this conſtitutional reſource;

ſource; it had employed ſeveral writers to ſearch into the origin, the powers, and the rights, of thoſe aſſemblies. The parliament, on being conſulted, had pronounced that it was neceſſary to conſtitute them according to the model of 1614, the laſt which were held in France, and in which the nation was tricked; but the parliament had been then repreſented in a body like the three orders, and this ſelfiſh deciſion made it loſe the confidence of the nation, which henceforth began to contrive the means of annihilating a *corps* which in ſuch an important matter was intirely ſwayed by its own pretenſions.

Calonne, hoping to be able to get his ſyſtem adopted in an aſſembly of notables, was reſolved to elude the deſperate remedy of aſſembling the ſtates general. His erroneous calculations turned to his own diſadvantage, and produced his diſgrace. Necker was recalled; he owed every thing to the favour of the people, and he was deſirous to prove his gratitude, and thus render their attachment permanent. He accordingly procured the famous deciſion relative to the double repreſentation

repreſentation of the third eſtate, and it was under all theſe unfavourable auſpices that the ſtates general of 1789 commenced their operations. The court perceived that it was undone. The hiſtory of the revolution will detail all the blunders which it committed with a deſign to retard its ruin, and which ſerved no other purpoſe than to precipitate it headlong, and render its fall more terrible. Dumouriez has never had either time or ability to ſearch into theſe facts, and he is now writing merely his own hiſtory.

CHAP. II.

Of the Revolution of 1789.

DURING the journey of the count d'Artois to Cherbourg in 1786, Dumouriez had contracted an intimacy with the count de Vaudreuil, the favourite of that prince, and his old acquaintance at college, to whom he had given apartments in his own houſe. Their different habits and profeſſions in life had ſeparated them until then, and they were now happy to meet once more. Vaudreuil poſſeſſed a good heart, conſiderable talents, and a great attachment for the count d'Artois, a very amiable prince, who ſtood in need of nothing but wholeſome advice. Dumouriez being at Paris during the winter of 1788-9, wiſhed to make uſe of Vaudreuil's credit, on purpoſe to influence his opinions. Mirabeau, whoſe villany was only equalled by his genius, had joined the popu-

lar party with a deſign to avenge himſelf on the court, which by its frequent *lettres de cachet* was rather blamable in ſhielding him from the juſt rigours of the law, than in puniſhing his crimes.

He foreſaw that the people, in the hands of a man of this deſcription, who poſſeſſed an aſtoniſhing power of ſpeech, would become a terrible inſtrument, if a rampart were not oppoſed to him. A puerile diſpute at this time divided the court. They intrigued about the grand buſineſs of the nation, as they were formerly accuſtomed to do about trifles. Neither the parliaments, nor the nobility, nor the clergy, nor the *good* third eſtate, dreamed of forming a coalition to humble, or at leaſt to balance the factious: notwithſtanding this the ſtates general were reſolved upon, and Mirabeau, who had acquired the confidence of the duke of Orleans, and by his means of the populace of Paris, was about to become the head of a formidable party.

Dumouriez wiſhed for the convocation of the ſtates general; he had no manner of doubt but the nation was ſufficiently enlightened,

enlightened, not to permit itſelf to be frightened or deceived; he thought that, conſcious of its own power, it would bring about a great reform, and produce the regeneration of France by conſtituent laws, which would henceforth preclude the favourites of our kings from replunging the monarchy into thoſe frightful extremities, which forced Louis XVI to throw himſelf into the arms of his people. He hoped that the choice of the provinces, in the election of their deputies, would fall on intelligent, liberal, and free minded men, poſſeſſed of honeſt intentions; and that thus, either Mirabeau would be excluded, or act only the part of an intriguing adventurer.

But the more he reflected on the force and the wiſdom of that aſſembly, the more he was alarmed for the conduct of a frivolous, unthinking, and preſumptuous court, that dreaded nothing ſo much, in *the new order of things*, as the diminution of its expenſes, the ceſſation of pillage, and the annihilation of abuſes, which it conſidered as connected with its very exiſtence; a court debaſed by its puerilities, which were exaggerated by the activity

activity of calumny, deſtitute of the proper idea of its own weakneſs when put in competition with twenty-ſix millions of men; divided into parties, which kept up no communication with each other; and abuſing the good nature of its chief, whom it did not ſufficiently reſpect. In ſhort, he trembled leſt this court ſhould precipitate the ruin of the monarchy by deſpotic meaſures which would irritate the nation, and force it into the moſt fatal extremities. He accordingly predicted a civil war, ſhort indeed in reſpect to its duration, which would annihilate the court, but which, very unfortunately, would at the ſame time enſure the deſtruction of the monarch.

Replete with theſe fears, he ſolicited an interview with Vaudreuil, to whom he unburdened his mind, and anticipated all the dangers of the king, if he were not preſented to the eyes of the aſſembled nation, ſurrounded with all the attributes of majeſty. Vaudreuil was of the ſame opinion.

It was neceſſary to begin by putting a ſtop to the diviſions that rent the court aſunder, ſo that by its reunion it might aſſume

greater dignity and inſpire more confidence, in order that the nobility, the clergy, the parliament, and the ſound part of the nation, which at that period was the moſt numerous, might rally around the throne, and ſupport it againſt the factious, who ſtrove to overwhelm the monarchy, inſtead of fixing it on a conſtitutional baſis. Vaudreuil, who felt a great perſonal attachment for the count d'Artois, agreed to every thing. This prince was at variance with the queen, and *Monſieur* was not only embroiled with her majeſty, but alſo with the count d'Artois.

Dumouriez obſerved to Vaudreuil that it became the count d'Artois, who had the reputation of great frankneſs, to make the firſt advances to the queen, as this would undoubtedly produce at the ſame time a reconciliation on the part of *Monſieur*, and thus create a general coalition in favour of the king. Vaudreuil accordingly drew up a plan dictated by Dumouriez, in which the conduct that prince ought to adopt was pointed out, and even the ſpeech which he was to make on ſeeing the queen. Vaudreuil

dreuil told him two days afterwards, that this negotiation had miſcarried.

Dumouriez had alſo another ſubject of diſquietude, and that was relative to the choice of the place in which the ſtates-general were to be aſſembled. Paris began already to diſcover many ſymptoms of fermentation. That city, like all very populous capitals, was the centre of corruption and intrigues. If the ſtates-general were to meet there, they might either be influenced by the gold and the arts of a court unacquainted with any other ſpring of action, or divided into violent and irreconcileable parties by means of the factious. The ſame dangers exiſted at Verſailles, where the court neither governed by terrour, nor by dignity. He was alſo convinced that this court, when too narrowly examined, would inſpire ſcorn in an aſſembly inveſted with an enormous power, and that the weakneſs of the means adopted to paralize its deliberations, could only irritate them.

He ſpoke on this ſubject to Mr. de Maleſherbes, formerly a miniſter, but who had reſigned his functions on purpoſe to live like

 a philoſopher,

a philoſopher, and who has ſince abandoned his retreat for the moſt noble of all duties, that of preſenting himſelf as the defender of the unfortunate Louis. This enlightened man was convinced of the juſtice of theſe obſervations, and took upon him to bring over Laluzerne, the miniſter of the marine, who was his nephew, to the ſame way of thinking. Dumouriez, on the other hand, agreed to make his fears known to Mr. de Montmorin, the miniſter of foreign affairs, with whom he was well acquainted, and who poſſeſſed much of the king's confidence, having been brought up along with him. They pointed out Bourges, or Tours, which are both central ſituations; and they added, that it was neceſſary during the ſeſſion of the ſtates, that the court ſhould reſide at four or five leagues diſtance from the aſſembly.

Their efforts were uſeleſs. The royal family, the court, the miniſters themſelves, were biaſſed by their habits, their pleaſures, and their intrigues, in favour of Verſailles and Paris.

By the moſt fallacious of all calculations, they

they deemed themſelves ſtronger there than in the provinces; they imagined that the grandeur of a court would dazzle the deputies, and that its politics would direct them. Montmorin announced it as a victory, that he had at length been able to obtain the convocation of the ſtates at Verſailles. At the moment when he ſpoke thus, there were but few perſons preſent. Dumouriez, who was one of them, could not forbear from ſighing aloud before *madame* de Montmorin and the *chevalier* de Coigny, at the anticipation of the misfortunes which he foreſaw. The miniſter was not at all pleaſed with his conduct, and this circumſtance occaſioned a coolneſs to take place between them. He returned no more to Verſailles, as he from that moment regarded all thoſe who reigned there, as ſo many imprudent children who were playing with live coals that would ſooner or later ſet the houſe on fire.

The king and his brothers, although ſtill young, had yet arrived at the age of maturity, but they had not one friend about their perſons capable of inſpiring them with ſolid reflections, or inculcating that grave and

prudent conduct, ſo neceſſary in critical circumſtances. Courtiers endeavour to prolong the youth, and even the infancy of princes, becauſe their credit is augmented in proportion to the frivolity, the ſillineſs, and the futile pleaſures of their maſters. The moment a prince becomes a *man*, he may have friends, but he has no longer favourites.

A great queſtion at this time agitated Paris, and was diſcuſſed every where, more eſpecially in a ſociety much frequented by Dumouriez. This ſociety was compoſed of the two young Crillons, ſons to the conqueror of Mahon; the elder had been his companion at college, and with the younger he had formed an acquaintance in Spain. Another friend of the ſame date, prince Emanuel de Salm-Salm, was a member of this club, as were alſo the duke de Liancourt, Kerſaint, and ſeveral others; all of them have been ſince members of the national aſſembly.

This important queſtion was relative to the manner of voting. Some were for voting by *poll*; and they were in the right, if they meant the ſtates general to prove uſeful.

ful. Others were for voting by *orders*. It was this manner of voting that had rendered all the preceding aſſemblies abortive, becauſe the nobility and the clergy participating in the profits derived from exiſting abuſes, and the court being able to influence them by means of benefices and penſions, the third eſtate muſt have always been in a minority, as it would have been but one againſt two.

Dumouriez, with a deſign to elucidate this queſtion, compoſed a pamphlet entitled, "The inſtructions of a balliage which will not ſend deputies to the ſtates general." He affixed to it as a motto a Socratic argument which decided in favour of the voting by *poll* by throwing ridicule on the queſtion itſelf. Here follows the motto. "How ſhall they vote, to decide how they ought to vote? Shall they vote by orders, to aſcertain if they be to vote by poll? or ſhall they vote by poll, to decide if they be to vote by orders?" This little tract conſiſted of forty pages. He added to it the ſpeech of a deputy at the opening of the aſſembly, and a plan for the diviſion of the aſſembly itſelf into ſeveral chambers, to facilitate its immenſe labours relative to all

parts of the government, in order to regenerate it upon a conſtitutional and ſolid foundation, which in the end would become the fundamental law and the invariable ſupport of the monarchy.

The elder Crillon, a virtuous man, and replete with affection for his country and his king, cauſed twelve hundred copies of this to be printed, and diſtributed them among the members of the ſtates on their convocation.

Dumouriez ſet off ſoon after for Cherbourg, keeping up however an intimate correſpondence with this Crillon. The two brothers formed part of the forty-ſeven members of the nobility who firſt united themſelves to the third eſtate at the opening of the ſtates general, and who were accompanied by a part of the *lower* clergy. The petty intrigue of the court, which prevented the re-union of the orders, was ſtill more clumſy than criminal. If thoſe members of the nobility and the clergy had not adopted the plan of rejoining it, the third eſtate, which of itſelf compoſed the moiety of the whole national repreſentation, had determined to open the ſeſſion without them.

them. This ſchiſm would have inſtantly produced the overthrow of the monarchy.

The conduct of the third eſtate during the courſe of this whole year, was prudent, noble, and moderate; for it is to be obſerved that all its deciſions were then ſage and circumſpect, and that it was with the nobility and the clergy that the ſuppreſſion of all their own rights and privileges originated, on account of the reciprocal ill will of the two orders towards each other, as alſo the declaration of the rights of man. As it was the abuſe of this declaration which produced all the evils of France, Dumouriez will here detail the objections which he unſucceſsfully made to this imprudent act, which originated with La Fayette and the other aukward imitators of the American legiſlators; whoſe intentions, however, and more eſpecially La Fayette's, were pure. This declaration forms the natural baſis of all human ſocieties. They were only deficient in point of ſkill as to the application; they were unacquainted with their own nation; they poſſeſſed zeal and imagination; and they were miſled by metaphyſicians equally unexperienced with themſelves. But

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errours of this kind are productive of terrible conſequences.

The French until this period, more eſpecially in the provinces, had never employed their thoughts on the ſubject of government. Diſcontented, becauſe they were oppreſſed, they naturally languiſhed for a change; their attention was wholly taken up with the nomination of deputies, the depoſitaries of all their confidence; it belonged to them to create a good conſtitution, and to enact good laws. No one conteſted the rights of the people, for they exerciſed them in all their plenitude in this very national aſſembly; it was therefore unneceſſary to give them any preliminary knowledge of the rights of man, and the impetuous character of their *volcanic* nation rendered its promulgation infinitely dangerous.

Dumouriez in one of his publications compares it to the Eleuſinian myſteries. Knowing what a bad uſe the French would make of it, he ſaid that it was firſt neceſſary to trace out to every individual of regenerated France, from the king to the indigent citizen, the exact knowledge of his duties, which were

were to be elucidated by means of good laws teaching him how to fulfil them; that they might afterwards, if they ſo choſe, make the nation acquainted with the rights by means of which the legiſlators had operated in its name; that the conſtitution ought to be an edifice regular in its architecture, of which the declaration of rights was only the ſcaffolding uſed in the conſtruction; and that when the building was finiſhed, it was unneceſſary to preſent the nation the plan of this ſcaffolding, which ought indeed no longer to ſubſiſt; that, in ſhort, if they conſidered the declaration of rights as the introduction to the conſtitution, it would be like placing the book before the preface; that ſuch had been the conduct of the Americans, whom they wiſhed to hold up as models; that it was not until after having laid down the *duties* of man, that they had chalked out his *rights*; that, if the declaration of rights preceded the enaction of the laws, a ceſſation of government would neceſſarily enſue, and a confuſion which would produce a dangerous influence on the aſſembly itſelf, and render

render its labours precipitate and imperfect.

It might have been fairly ſaid that this *was the voice of one crying aloud in the deſert.* The vanity of the metaphyſicians, the wits, and the novices in legiſlation, miſled them. The declaration appeared; it was interpreted in a wrong ſenſe by the people, who confounded their *force* with their *rights*, and the anarchy became univerſal.

Another queſtion, equally fatal with the former, alſo divided men's minds in the courſe of this year—it was that of the *veto.* Dumouriez will here alſo detail the objections which he unſucceſsfully drew up on this occaſion. The *veto* was the moſt dangerous privilege they could beſtow upon the king; it might be conſidered as his death-warrant, although it was then impoſſible to diſcover the whole extent of the danger.

" Either the king was inveſted ſimply with the executive power; and in that caſe he ſhould not exerciſe a prohibitory right in the confection of laws, as he himſelf ought to ſubmit to them, and his power ought to extend no further than their execution:

tion: or, he was to be allowed a co-legiſlative authority, and then it was not a prohibitory right which they ought to grant him, for he ought to anticipate in the enaction of the laws with the ſtates general or the conſtituent aſſembly. The honour of a *negative* was nothing elſe than to confide arms to his hands, of which he might make an ill uſe by preventing the enacting of laws, or a ſource of diſcord between him and the legiſlators; and as the latter were inveſted with all the authority of the nation, he muſt always be overcome in ſo unequal a conteſt; the *veto* was therefore an illuſory right, a ſnare ſpread for the monarch." The court imagined it had gained every thing by obtaining this victory. It had accordingly purchaſed Mirabeau, and many other members, and this corruption completed the general ruin.

Dumouriez need only to have become a candidate, to have been elected a member of the conſtituent aſſembly. His friends preſſed him, and in all probability he would have ſucceeded, if he had preſented himſelf at Lizieux, as the repreſentative of the claims of the

the marchioneſs du Belloy, his mother-in-law, who poſſeſſed two lordſhips in that canton. He refuſed to comply,

1ſt, Becauſe he did not think himſelf ſufficiently qualified;

And 2dly, Becauſe he was attached to a tranquil ſtate of life, and his command at Cherbourg.

He at that period hoped that the conſtituent aſſembly would be able to regenerate France. In this caſe he expected to ſucceed in his plans relative to Cherbourg, the works of which he was deſirous to ſee reſumed, and executed on a grand ſcale.

He even drew up ſeveral memorials on this ſubject, which he tranſmitted to his old friend Latouche, a captain in the navy, who was unfortunate enough to become chancellor of Orleans, and a member of the conſtituent aſſembly, and of the marine committee.

Dumouriez was alſo afraid leſt his reſidence with the aſſembly ſhould have been made a pretext for diſmiſſing him from his command. He had formed himſelf this

aſylum at Cherbourg, and he wiſhed to preſerve it, not then foreſeeing that an epoch would ſoon arrive, when no Frenchman could poſſeſs any certain home in his unhappy country.

He contented himſelf therefore with drawing up inſtructions for the deputies of the nobility of Cotentin. His friends to whom he entruſted them having communicated theſe papers, they were rejected with diſdain, becauſe he propoſed that the nobility themſelves ſhould make an offer to ſacrifice thoſe pecuniary privileges, of which they were ſoon about to be deprived. Other balliages were more reaſonable; and, among the reſt, that of Beauvais, directed by the count de Crillon.

As ſoon as it was known that he had compoſed theſe inſtructions, the nobility determined never to pardon him; he was ſuppoſed to be attached to the popular party, and this was then reckoned a crime. They conſidered him as a *ſoldier of fortune*, and even as a plebeian, becauſe when he became a general officer he neglected to aſ-

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ſume any title like the reſt of his brethren, and that from mere careleſſneſs, for having no children, he had never been at the pains to tell the world whether he were a noble or not.

CHAP.

BOOK III.

CHAP. III.

Diſturbances in Normandy. Revolt at Cherbourg, 1789.

ALL the legal authorities throughout France had ceaſed; there was no longer any government. The parliaments neither dared to repreſs licenſe, nor to diſtribute juſtice. The *intendants* and their delegates were not only deprived of their functions, but the greater part of them had fled, dreading the vengeance of the people. The governors, the commanders of provinces, and thoſe ſuperintending particular diſtricts, ſtill exerciſed a ſmall degree of authority over the garriſons, becauſe the army was yet undecided as to the part it ſhould act. It however conſiſted, even including the officers, rather of revolutioniſts than royaliſts, and every town for its own defence had formed a municipal council which precarioufly

 united

united and exerciſed all kinds of power whatever. France in every thing reſembled the Achæan league, except in this, that there was no agreement between the cities and the provinces.

The court and conſtituent aſſembly were at open war; they endeavoured mutually to annoy one another, and each party had ſent agitators into the provinces, who ſtirred them up ſometimes for the one, and ſometimes for the other. The grand ſecret for alarming the people, and ſeducing them to commit exceſſes, was to terrify them with the idea of a famine, and to produce a partial ſcarcity, either by pillaging the magazines and the markets, or by arreſting and maltreating the corn factors, and dealers in grain.

It was in this ſtate that he found Normandy. The duke de Harcourt remained about the king's perſon; the duke de Beuvron, his brother, commanded in his ſtead. The latter nobleman, loſing his ſenſes at the leaſt commotion, and throwing himſelf into real dangers by precipitate meaſures, had the imprudence to cauſe three gibbets

gibbets to be erected at Caen, to which certain wits belonging to the popular party, who then braved every thing, attached three porringers full of milk, with this inſcription: " milk for the cats."

He was ſurrounded by two or three general officers, who endeavoured to prevent him from the commiſſion of many palpable follies. Dumouriez was admitted into the council, and as it was known that he was beloved by the people, he received letters of command for the whole of Lower Normandy.

He travelled from town to town, and from market to market, making uſe of all poſſible means of conciliation, yet ſometimes employing troops for the purpoſe of eſcorting convoys of proviſion, and eſtabliſhing tranquillity. By theſe means he ſo far ſucceeded in regaining the public confidence, that the circulation of corn from city to city, and even from one province to another, was reſumed. He cauſed grain to be purchaſed in England, and making uſe of the king's fiſhing-ſmacks which were at Cherbourg, he was enabled to ſend proviſion by

means of the rivers as far as St. Lô, which is a central point, whence he diſtributed it throughout the whole of the Lower Normandy.

He every where found the people furious againſt the duke de Beuvron, on account of the gibbets he had erected, and a proclamation he had ordered to be poſted up in Caen, prohibiting the aſſembling of the people, and commanding the troops, when they found five perſons aſſembled together in the ſtreets to diſperſe them, and in caſe of refuſal, to fire on them. The ſoldiers themſelves murmured at this ill timed act of authority, and ſwore they would not execute it. In ſhort, he found the minds of all men ſo irritated againſt the duke, that he thought himſelf bound to intimate this circumſtance to his brother, and ſolicit his return to reſume the command.

He himſelf however was nowhere inſulted by the people, notwithſtanding they had become exceedingly turbulent; on the contrary, at his appearance, they were inſtantly appeaſed. Notwithſtanding this, the agitators diſplayed too much activity for him

him to be able to re-eſtabliſh a durable tranquillity. What occurred at Paris in the months of June and July completed the derangement of all the meaſures he had adopted on this ſubject. The diſturbances about the grain ſerved only as a maſk for other deſigns.

The court wiſhed to annihilate the conſtituent aſſembly; it, on the other hand, was eager to arm and derive ſupport from the people. A council of ſtate was held at Marly, the reſult of which was to diſmiſs M. Necker, who was then the idol of the French. Troops had been marched towards Paris: foreign had been choſen in preference to native regiments, and the command had been given to the marſhal de Broglio. The governors of provinces were at the ſame time ſent to their reſpective poſts, becauſe commotions were expected.

A blind deſpotiſm had dictated the moſt imprudent meaſures. Not only Dumouriez remained ignorant of all this, but although he was intimately connected with the family of Beuvron, he was conſidered as a *ſuſpicious perſon*, merely on account of the reſpect he

was held in by the people. In truth he had never concealed his ſentiments. Every body was acquainted with his intimacy with the greater part of the forty-ſeven nobles, and his wiſhes for the reform of abuſes; he had alſo conſtantly panegyriſed the pure intentions of Necker.

On the 10th of July, having appeaſed a ſedition at Carentan, after having ſent four companies of grenadiers and light infantry, and two four pounders to the duke de Beuvron, becauſe he had good reaſon to be afraid of the populace of Caen, he repaired to that nobleman's houſe, and there found more than ſixty ladies, and double the number of nobles, all of whom aſſumed a triumphant air. On his approaching the ducheſs ſhe exclaimed very imprudently, in a loud tone of voice, "Well, Dumouriez, you do not know the great news? Your friend Necker is diſgraced; the king will now reaſcend his throne, and the aſſembly be diſſolved; your friends, the *forty-ſeven*, are perhaps at this very moment in the Baſtille with Mirabeau, Target, and a hundred more of the inſolent orators of the third eſtate; and moſt aſ-

ſuredly

ſuredly the marſhal de Broglio is in Paris, at this very moment, at the head of 30,000 troops."

"So much the worſe, *madame la ducheſſe*," replied he, and taking the duke under the arm, carried him into his cloſet. He then ſaid: "What madame de Beuvron has announced, cannot occur without ſpilling much blood, and if the king ſhould ſucceed in ſo violent a meaſure, he is irretrievably loſt; but in the mean time you are deteſted here, we are not the ſtronger party; depend but little on the troops, they will not fire upon the people, and your wife will cauſe you to be maſſacred on account of her imprudence." The duke, who was brave enough in the face of an enemy, but who did not poſſeſs that ſpecies of courage ſo neceſſary during popular tumults, was at firſt intimidated. He called the ducheſs; both of them ſcold her; ſhe is affrighted; they return into the ſaloon; the former clamour is changed into a ſolemn ſilence, and every body retires.

The duke de Harcourt arrived next day. A council was then held, at which the mar-

quis d'Hautefeuille, a major-general, aſſiſted. It was agreed that the enterprize againſt Paris, whatever turn it might take, could not but produce a dangerous effect at Caen; and that it was neceſſary to make the duke de Beuvron withdraw inſtantly. They accordingly diſpatched him in the courſe of that very day to Cherbourg, where it was hoped that his imprudent conduct had not as yet rendered him odious, and where he had ſix battalions at his diſpoſal, one of which conſiſted of the marine artillery. When he was gone it was reſolved that the two ducheſſes ſhould retire immediately to Harcourt.

Dumouriez lodged with the *intendant*, on purpoſe to protect him, and to be near the duke de Harcourt, whom he had determined not to leave. This nobleman, more prudent and reſerved than his brother, waited with great ſolicitude for intelligence from Paris, and at the ſame time affected to wave the ſubject.

In the mean time Dumouriez was charged with the command of the troops, which conſiſted of two battalions of the regiment of

of Bourbon infantry, four companies of light infantry and grenadiers, and one hundred and fifty men of the regiment of cavalry called the *commiſſaire-general*; and he could add to this little garriſon the burghers guard of more than two thouſand men, well clothed and armed, which altogether would be ſufficient to defend the city againſt the two terrible ſuburbs of *Bourg-l'Abbe* and *Vauxcelles*; theſe were filled with an immenſe population of the moſt indigent and ſeditious claſs.

The caſtle of Caen was every where defenceleſs, and might be ſcaled on all ſides. The duke de Beuvron had been imprudent enough to mount ſome cannon on rotten carriages, which tended ſtill more to irritate the people.

On the 12th the duke de Coigny arrived from Paris, and brought with him the plan of the diſtribution of the troops under the marſhal de Broglio, around the capital. He had crowded his infantry into three or four little camps, very near the city; his cavalry occupied the two plains of Grenelle and St. Denys, and his large artillery had already arrived

arrived in the latter place. He had only thrown a garriſon of fifty Swiſs into the Baſtille. Dumouriez inſtantly told him, that if they perſevered in maintaining ſo abſurd and unmilitary a poſition, they would moſt aſſuredly be beaten; that the defection of the French guards ought to ſerve as an example of the folly of placing the troops ſo near the women of the town, the ſeduction of good cheer, and the blandiſhments of the *Palais-royal*. He beſought him immediately to tranſmit the following diſpoſition, and to preſs its adoption if it were ſtill in time.

1°. To garriſon the Baſtille with a major-general and four battalions, who ought to occupy the arſenal as far as the river, and throw up a trench in their front, to ſeparate them from the ſuburb St. Antoine, and the quay.

2°. To poſt 500 men with cannon, in the iſle of Louviers, on purpoſe to produce a croſs fire, from the batteries there, at the Baſtille, and the arſenal, in caſe the people ſhould attack them by the quays.

3°. To poſt ſix battalions behind the firſt diviſion, with a *corps* of cavalry in the peninſula

ninſula of St. Maur, occupying Vincennes, ſo as to ſuccour the Baſtille.

4°. To withdraw all the little camps of the *champ de Mars*, the *bois de Boulogne*, and the *champs Eliſée*, and aſſemble them on the heights of St. Cloud, Sevres, and Meudon, with the river before them, and to entrench another *corps* of eight or ten thouſand men at St. Denys, continuing to occupy the two plains of St. Denys and Grenelle with the cavalry and huſſars.

By theſe means Paris would have been blockaded, and the king ſaved; for the firſt movement made by Dumouriez would have been to enſure the perſon of Louis XVI.

The duke de Coigny ſent back his *valet de chambre* to Paris. Dumouriez is unacquainted with the contents of his diſpatch, having never ſeen him ſince.

He purpoſed to leave at Cherbourg, for guarding the works there, no more than the marine battalion, to aſſemble at Caen the regiment of cavalry, eight battalions which were in Lower Normandy, and ten four pounders which had been gotten ready at St. Lô, to advance towards Nantes, in caſe of need.

need. The duke d'Harcourt did not however come to any deciſion; he ſtill waited for news from the capital.

On the 15th at night, intelligence at length arrived of the taking of the Baſtille, the diſperſion of the army, the flight of the princes and the marſhal de Broglio, the triumph of the aſſembly, and the *forced* reſtoration of Necker to office. The duke was confounded; he had buoyed himſelf up with the expectation of complete ſucceſs. Not knowing how to act, he propoſed to Dumouriez to throw himſelf into the caſtle of Caen with two battalions. The other repreſented that it was deſtitute of proviſion, every poſſible means of defence, and even of water; and that, in addition to all this, the troops themſelves were not to be depended upon. He accordingly refuſed.

In the mean time a number of emiſſaries arrived from Rouen and Paris, in order to prevail upon the inhabitants to take up arms. It was no longer a mob, but the whole people, that now conceived the idea of a regular inſurrection, and came with the utmoſt tranquillity to the governour of the province,

on purpoſe to announce their reſolution of forming themſelves into a regular militia. It was therefore become neceſſary, as all oppoſition was in vain, to diſplay the utmoſt fortitude; but the duke, now overwhelmed with chagrin, was no longer able to keep up appearances. They preſented him with the three coloured cockade, forced him and all his houſehold to wear this patriotic emblem, and alſo diſtributed a number of them among the troops.

The people ſtill continued to treat the duke with ſome regard, but they narrowly watched his conduct; and he would not have been able to have left Caen had it not been for an urgent letter from Necker, which was the means of procuring him leave from the inhabitants to return to Paris. The ducheſs alſo experienced much vexation at Harcourt, on the part of their vaſſals, ſo that ſhe choſe to leave that place and repair alſo to the capital, whence ſhe accompanied her huſband out of France.

Dumouriez had no longer any buſineſs at Caen, where the victory of the people produced tranquillity. He ſuffered much uneaſineſs,

eaſineſs, however, relative to Cherbourg, where he had five or ſix millions of livres depoſited in three cheſts, more eſpecially as there were about ſeven or eight thouſand ſtrangers employed in the quarries, the magazines, and the works ſtill carrying on in the harbour. Among theſe were many ſuſpicious perſons, and ſome who had been formerly branded for crimes.

During the former inſurrections the agitators ſent from Paris had been diſtinguiſhed by means of their dreſs, which conſiſted of a waiſtcoat and trouſers of ſtriped canvas, and a round hat; theſe *couriers* of revolt were ſtiled *carabôts*. It was accompanied by a troop of this kind, that Bordier the comedian had ſtirred up the populace at Rouen, where he was hanged.

Particularly entruſted with the care of Cherbourg, and ſolicited by frequent letters from the different corporations, Dumouriez announced his intentions of repairing thither to the duke d'Harcourt, and inſiſted on the neceſſity of his immediate departure. The *intendant* begged him to carry along with him his ſubdelegate Guyard, to ſave him from

from the reſentment of the people; he accordingly admitted him into his carriage, and ſet out on the 19th.

On paſſing through Bayeux, St. Lô, and Carentan, he adviſed the civil and military commanders no longer to oppoſe an uſeleſs reſiſtance to the formation of a national militia, but on the contrary to encourage it, and not only permit it to aſſemble with tranquillity, but even to render it formidable, on purpoſe to bridle the populace.

There was an arſenal at St. Lô containing fifteen thouſand muſkets; he therefore made the municipal council feel how neceſſary it was, and how nearly connected with the public ſafety, that its national militia ſhould be compoſed of reſpectable citizens, and commanded by perſons on whom they could rely, on purpoſe to guard ſo precious a depoſit. This town has always diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its wiſdom; its inſurrection was rational; its council and militia have been well choſen; it has always kept up a good correſpondence with the military commanders; and it has long enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity.

Theſe

Theſe diſpoſitions having occupied the whole of the night of the 19th, he arrived on the 20th at Cherbourg: it was full time, intelligence of the decree for calling out the national militia had already arrived there; this was brought by emiſſaries, who ſtirred up the workmen; the people were in a ſtate of revolt; the principal inhabitants were very uneaſy, and they waited with impatience for the coming of general Dumouriez, whom eleven years reſidence had made them conſider as a citizen, and even as the founder of the town. He ſpent that evening with the duke de Beuvron; they converſed chiefly about the neceſſity of reſigning themſelves with a good grace to an inſurrection, which the leaſt reſiſtance might cauſe to degenerate into a ſanguinary revolt.

The moment he had returned to his own houſe, he received a deputation of the burghers, who announced to him, that in the courſe of that day, they had prevented the people from flying to arms in a tumultuous manner, under pretext of complying with the levy of the national militia; that

that they had repreſented to their fellow citizens, that any extraordinary movement of the townſmen, who could at moſt muſter two or three thouſand ſtrong, might produce a ſtill more dangerous one on the part of eight or ten thouſand men, who were employed in the quarries, the arſenals, &c.; that not only the public money for paying theſe workmen, but their own private property, might become a prey to theſe ſtrangers, the moſt of whom were unknown, and even ſuſpected; that they had adviſed them to wait the arrival of their general, whom they alſo conſidered as their father, and who would arrange the plan relative to the national militia in ſuch a manner as would enſure the public tranquillity; that the people had not only adopted this opinion, but had unanimouſly appointed him *commandant*; that they were charged to wait upon him, and offer him this appointment, and they now ſupplicated him not to refuſe it.

He felt that the public good, and he himſelf would experience great danger, if he ſhould reject ſo honourable a ſtation; more eſpecially as it evinced the intire confidence

of the people in him, notwithſtanding his military rank, and his authority over a garriſon of more than three thouſand men. His acceptance, on the contrary, would reunite the whole power in his own hands, and enable him to bridle the exceſſes of the populace and the workmen.

At break of day, he went and informed the duke of this offer, who firſt appeared to be very much ſatisfied with it, but he afterwards diſcovered much jealouſy on this account.

On the 21ſt of July, at ten o'clock in the morning, the people aſſembled in the church. Dumouriez deſired the military commanders to hold the troops in readineſs in caſe of need, without however diſcovering any uneaſineſs, and he intimated his wiſhes to the magiſtrates that they alſo ſhould aſſemble at the ſame time. In about an hour afterwards, the people having nominated him *commandant-general* by *acclamation*, they ſent deputies to wait on him; and ſcarcely had he entered the ſtreet, when a great crowd ran before him carrying a national ſtandard, which had been made in the courſe

courſe of the preceding night, and on which they had embroidered the following device:

Vivre libre, ou mourir*.

The people conducted him to the church, where he was received by the clergy. He invited the magiſtrates to repair thither, and as ſoon as this aſſembly had acquired a certain degree of dignity, he cauſed ſilence to be proclaimed, and told them, that the arming of the whole nation ought to be the precurſor of order, and of liberty; that having no external enemies, and their brethren, the troops of the line, and citizens alſo, profeſſing the ſame principles as they did, they ſhould conſider themſelves as armed againſt robbers and anarchiſts alone; that they ought not to do any thing that was not enjoined by their legiſlators aſſembled at Verſailles; that the diſputes between the king and that auguſt aſſembly had ceaſed; that his perfidious counſellors had either fled or been puniſhed; that the capital was calm; that the aſſembly continued its labours with tranquillity; that they ought

* Liberty or death.—*Tranſ.*

to ſwear on their new colours, in the preſence of the God of armies, their magiſtrates, and their clergy, to maintain ſurety and tranquillity at Cherbourg; that every irregular movement would be a ſedition, and a crime againſt liberty; and that he himſelf now ſwore to make uſe of the authority which they, in the fulneſs of their confidence, had honoured him with, to puniſh with death every one who ſhould diſturb the public repoſe.

On this the oath was unanimouſly adminiſtered, and received, and an account was drawn up of this ceremony, which was truly affecting.

On their leaving the church, the *commandant-general* invited all the citizens to accompany him, the magiſtrates, the clergy, and the colours, to the duke de Beuvron at the abbey, about half a mile from the town, where all the military had aſſembled. They accordingly marched in proceſſion without any arms, and the duke, accompanied by the officers, left the abbey, and came out to meet them. Dumouriez then addreſſed him as follows: "*M. le Duc*, I bring you the people

people of Cherbourg, who are about to arm themſelves for the defence of liberty, and the laws. They have choſen me for their commander; we appear in a body to aſſure you, that, convinced of the goodneſs of your intentions for the glory and the happineſs of the French nation, we will execute your orders with the utmoſt zeal, and we will concur with the brave troops of the line in maintaining tranquillity, protecting property, and ſupporting liberty."

The duke made a very noble reply. He was then placed under the ſtandard, and entered the town in company with the *commandant-general*, amidſt univerſal joy, and general gladneſs.

The utmoſt calm reigned during the whole day; the people diſcovered a pure and a conſiderate ſatisfaction; all the principal perſons, all the corporations were felicitating each other with the utmoſt cordiality, when, at ſix o'clock in the evening, the women of the ſuburbs and a few men aſſembled before the town houſe, and demanded that the price of bread ſhould be lowered. Dumouriez, on being informed of

this event, inſtantly repaired thither, and ſucceeded in diſſipating the mob, by proving to them that bread, which was at only two *ſols* and a half *per* pound, could not be ſold cheaper without occaſioning a great loſs to the farmers, who would thenceforth bring no more corn to market; and that by theſe means they themſelves would produce a famine. The agitators, who perceived that they had failed in their intentions, employed another trick, in which they ſucceeded better.

The mayor of the town, whoſe name was Garantot, united in his own perſon the two places of *lieutenant de police*, and ſubdelegate to the *intendant*. He was one of thoſe perſons who are uſually called *good ſort of people*, that is to ſay, men buſied rather in their own affairs, than thoſe of their neighbours. He was extremely rich, ſtill more avaricious than wealthy, and he bore very hard upon the people. He was ſuppoſed to have more than a hundred thouſand *livres* in ready money concealed at home.

A number of ſeditious perſons aſſembled before his houſe. Dumouriez ran thither, but

but while he was employed in ſaving it from pillage, another mob went and demanded a diminution of the price of bread from the duke de Beuvron, and alſo the keys of the corn magazine. He was weak enough to comply with their ſolicitations.

Such unexpected ſucceſs encouraged that band, whoſe number increaſed every moment; and they at length forced their way into the court before the mayor's houſe, where Dumouriez, who had mounted the ſteps that led to the door, was haranguing the people, who liſtened to him with complaiſance. Theſe rogues however overwhelmed him with injuries, told him that he was a traitor and an *ariſtocrat*, who deceived them, and that the duke de Beuvron, on the contrary, was a worthy man, who had liſtened to their juſt remonſtrances; by way of proving this a huge Dutch ſailor diſplayed the keys of the corn magazine.

The ſituation of Dumouriez was at this moment very critical; he was only accompanied by a ſerjeant and four privates belonging to the guard of the *regiment de la Reine*, whom he had brought to protect the

houſe, an *exempt of the marechauſſée*, two or three magiſtrates (for poor Garantot was afraid to make his appearance), and four officers who had followed him. He reflected that if he yielded, he would loſe all his credit, be reckoned a traitor, and become the firſt victim to the rage of the banditti. He therefore determined to act a raſh part, but it was the only one that was calculated to alleviate his danger.

He according exclaimed: " My children, if the duke de Beuvron has really ordered the price of bread to be lowered, it ſhall be inſtantly complied with; but you are deceived by ſeditious men: behold the keys of your magazines in the hands of a foreigner!"

He at the ſame time ſprung from the ſtep on which he ſtood, burſt through the crowd, ſeized the Dutchman by the throat, and cried out, " Reſtore the keys, villain, or you are a dead man!" The affrighted ſailor inſtantly dropped the keys, which he entruſted to the officer of the guard, ſaying at the ſame time to the people, " I am your father, and will be anſwerable for the corn magazine; I will

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in the mean time go and receive the orders of the duke de Beuvron, and I conjure all good citizens to guard this houſe until my return."

"We conſent to it," they all replied, "but on condition that you bring the mayor with you, to iſſue a proclamation for the ſale of bread at two *ſols per* pound."

"Very well, only ſwear to me that you will do him no harm."

"We ſwear."

He then repaired to the duke de Beuvron, who frankly confeſſed the weakneſs he had been guilty of. Here was now no remedy: Garantot was brought from his lurking place. Dumouriez took hold of one arm, and Boiſgelin, the ſon-in-law of the duke de Beuvron, of the other, and they dragged him towards his own houſe, in the ſituation of one rather dead than alive. When they were within twenty paces, they beheld the populace pillaging it.

On this he delivered over Garantot to Boiſgelin, with orders to protect him, and he ran to the alarm poſt, which was very near, and whither he had ſent a *piquet* of fifty men.

men. He marched with them towards the houſe. Among the plunderers were many ſoldiers belonging to different regiments, diſguiſed like workmen. The troops murmured, refuſed to obey their general, and officers, and ſwore that they would not fire upon the people. The pillage was accordingly completed, and the ſoldiers, who laughed and diverted themſelves with this event, permitted the rioters to paſs quietly along with the ſtolen moveables. This troop of robbers, among whom were many women and ſome ſoldiers, conſiſted of four or five hundred perſons.

He then ordered *the general* * *to be beaten.* As he had before deſignated their reſpective ſtations, the different *corps* inſtantly repaired to them: but the ſoldiery ſtill aſſerted that they would not interfere, and their inactivity appeared to encourage the *banditti.*

The national militia was in exiſtence, and it alone could have put a ſtop to the diſorder, but it was neither organiſed, armed, nor divided into companies; all its members

* A particular beat of drum, by which all the infantry are aſſembled.—*Tranſ.*

therefore ſhut themſelves up at home, to enſure their own ſafety. The town remained in this ſtate of confuſion during four whole days, and it happened, very luckily, that the workmen did not interfere.

At length about ten o'clock on the morning of the fourth day, ſeveral of the inhabitants reſumed courage, and provided themſelves with arms; the ſoldiers then began to be aſhamed, and they ſaid that if the citizens would march at their head, they would ſoon put the *banditti* to flight. They were partly in the right; they themſelves could not make the proper diſtinction, and they were not inclined to fire on the true citizens.

The mob was then pillaging the third houſe; but it is to be obſerved, that their criminal acts had been hitherto exerciſed on three perſons with whom the people had reaſon to be diſſatisfied. The firſt was Garantot, a harſh and avaricious man; the ſecond was a magiſtrate, called Chante-Renne, who was alſo a merchant and ſhip-owner, and accuſed of having formerly plundered a very rich veſſel; the third was a corn merchant

merchant called Mauges, a noted uſurer. They had indeed attempted the houſes of ſome contractors, and that of the *commandant-general*, where the national flag was depoſited, under pretence of rallying around it. They were however repulſed, and one of the robbers was wounded by a thruſt from a bayonet, in conſequence of which he died in the courſe of the night.

It was in this third houſe that they were ſurrounded; one of them was precipitated from the third ſtory and died on the ſpot. One hundred and eighty-ſeven men and thirty-nine women were ſecured. Dumouriez took care not to confine them in the public priſon, which might have been forced; he ordered his coach houſe, ſtables, and wood houſes to be emptied, and he bound and ſhut them up there, with a guard of fifty ſoldiers, and an equal number of citizens, over them. On the morning of the next day, he cauſed all the men to be tied two and two along a maſt which held a file of about ſixty of them; he had ſhallops ready, and he ordered them to be embarked, and lodged in the hold of two old ſhips of war,

war, which were anchored in the road, to aſſiſt the works carrying on in the port; and as to the women, they were confined in an old tower within the town.

He then ſent for the lieutenant of the marſhalſea of the peninſula, who reſided at Coutances, and the hangman of Caen. He organiſed the militia, which had not as yet aſſumed the name of *national guards*, and divided it into twenty-one companies, three of which were compoſed of ſailors and carpenters, to whom was particularly entruſted the protection of the port. The magiſtrates were removed, nominated anew by the people, and were termed, as in other towns, the *proviſional council*; they united all the authority in their own hands.

The lieutenant of the marſhalſea and the executioner having arrived, he reflected for ſome time on the means which ought to be adopted to puniſh the crime, which he was determined ſhould not paſs unchaſtiſed. Martial law was too arbitrary to correſpond with the regimen of liberty, and if he had delivered the priſoners over to a military tribunal, he would have been reproached

proached with puniſhing them in an arbitrary manner.

He therefore, after due deliberation, aſſembled the people under arms in the ſquare, preſented the lieutenant of the marſhalſea to them, and ſpoke as follows:

Citizens! the town of Cherbourg has been diſhonoured by the commiſſion of a great crime, and we have all pledged ourſelves not to ſuffer ſuch enormities to eſcape unpuniſhed. It is you who have been offended, it belongs to you therefore to ſit in judgment on the guilty. The forms of the marſhal's court will be followed in the proceſs, but the lieutenant will only be permitted to point out that mode which is the moſt proper in the preſent circumſtances, becauſe it is the moſt expeditious. Select twelve judges and an aſſeſſor, from among the advocates; they will ſuperintend the proceedings. I will afterwards reaſſemble, and inform you of the reſult, and you ſhall pronounce finally on their doom.

He cauſed this propoſition to be committed to writing, and demanded the public opinion

opinion alſo in writing by means of a *yes* and a *no*.

This form was adopted. At the expiration of eight days, he again convoked the people, who pronounced their verdict in manner propoſed. The two ringleaders of the mutiny were hanged; they belonged to the neighbouring county, and had been robbers on the highway. Ten were whipped, branded, and ſent to the gallies at Breſt. All the reſt were baniſhed, and after a minute ſearch in the quarries, two hundred and fifty more of a ſuſpicious deſcription were included in the ſentence. Four women were alſo whipped, branded, and conveyed to the houſe of correction at Caen.

If the other commanding officers had diſplayed the ſame firmneſs, and judgment, in all the towns throughout the kingdom, the people would have remained every where maſters of the populace, and the revolution, inſtead of the hideous form it has aſſumed, would have been a ſimple regeneration of the monarchy. In truth, the jacobins at this period were merely a patriotic body, perhaps a little too fiery in their zeal, but they

they conſiſted of the moſt upright men of France, and the conſtituent aſſembly, and were not yet debauched by the introduction of ruffians, who have converted that club into a monſtrous aſſociation, that has become the enemy of all ſocial order.

On the 12th of Auguſt a tragical event occurred at Caen, where the people diſplayed one of the firſt examples of its barbarity in its vengeance. The junior major of the regiment of Bourbon infantry was called Belzunce; his rank excluded him from all command, but he had uſurped the rights of a meek ſpirited lieutenant-colonel. This young man was witty, and poſſeſſed an intereſting figure, but his character was haughty, violent, and enterpriſing. He affected everywhere to exhibit the moſt decided averſion to the conſtituent aſſembly, a marked attachment to deſpotiſm, and the utmoſt ſcorn for the people. He careſſed the ſoldiers of his own regiment, eſpecially the grenadiers, and never appeared in the ſtreets but on horſeback, accompanied by a ſervant with a ferocious aſpect, and both of them completely armed from head to foot: the

the nobility of Caen completely ruined him by flattering his dangerous paſſions.

Dumouriez, who had ſeen him often at the *intendant's* houſe, frequently reprimanded and beſtowed much uſeleſs advice upon him. He had even thought proper at his departure to obſerve to the duke of Harcourt, that the culpable temerity of this young man might prove extremely pernicious, and he had adviſed him to find out ſome pretext for ſending him away. The duke, however, did not think proper to comply; although, on receiving intelligence from Caen, Dumouriez had reiterated his opinion in writing, and preſſed him to diſpatch him with letters to the miniſter, who would eaſily find a pretext for detaining him at Paris.

Belzunce became daily more inſupportable to the people. He had quitted his lodgings in the town, on purpoſe to reſide in the barracks along with the grenadiers; he was ſuſpected of a deſign to attempt ſome ſudden enterprize. The fact however is, that on the 11th of Auguſt, at ten o'clock at night, the barrack in which he lived, was perceived

to have lights in all the apartments, and the ſoldiers were dreſſed and under arms. Whether it was that he had anticipated the ill intentions of the people, or that he himſelf was actually buſied in the hoſtile projects which had been long attributed to him, is hard to determine.

The inhabitants flew to arms, and ſurrounded the place. An officer having ſallied forth, an attempt was made to ſtop him. He diſcharged a piſtol at a ſentinel of the national guard, miſſed him, and was killed. Several ſhot were fired from the barracks, and the alarm-bell was rung. The whole town aſſembled in arms, and cannon were brought up. The regiment at length capitulated, and delivered up the unfortunate Belzunce, who was torn in pieces, and his remains were afterwards carried in triumph through the city. It is pretended that a woman, or rather a fury, devoured his heart. The people then repaired to the duke de Harcourt, who was expoſed to ſome perſonal danger, and obliged him to ſend away the regiment.

Dumouriez on the 13th learned this hor-

rible cataſtrophe, and immediately expected a commotion, becauſe it had been remarked that the little towns conſtantly followed the example of the great ones. Accordingly on the 14th the people of Cherbourg aſſembled in cluſters, and the agitators perſuaded them, that they ought to diſtruſt the troops after what had juſt happened at Caen, and that neither the forts nor magazines ſhould be entruſted to their care.

There were at this time five hundred thouſand muſket cartridges in barrels, in fort *Galet*, which was only guarded by a corporal and four privates. It was however ſituated beyond the town, and very near the barracks of the marine *corps*, where the duke de Beuvron, always imprudent from timidity, had been ſo unwiſe as to poſt two companies of grenadiers, and two pieces of artillery, which exhibited an air of diſtruſt to the people, who in their turn began to be ſuſpicious of theſe hoſtile preparations.

It happened to be a holiday. A hundred of the citizens without arms, went and ſurrounded fort Galet, while the captains and officers of the national guard ſignified to

their general, that as the late occurrence at Caen had engendered ſuſpicions againſt the troops, the people themſelves were reſolved to guard the forts and the magazines.

" Your jealouſy is ill founded," replied he in a very cool manner, " I am ready to anſwer for the ſoldiers; they will not do any thing without my orders, and you may rely upon me: however your demand is juſt; but as it is neceſſary that our magazines be not plundered, poſſeſſion ſhould be taken in all the cuſtomary forms, and an exact inventory drawn up." They inſtantly conſented to this arrangement.

He then deſired the ſuperiour officers of the national guard to go themſelves, and relieve the poſts occupied by the troops of the line; and he ſent Mr. Deſhayes, a commiſſioner of the marine, and a man of a ſage and prudent turn, to inſpect the inventory; he himſelf ſigned all the neceſſary orders, as alſo a general one to the commanding officers of the troops of the line, in the forts, enjoining them to allow themſelves to be relieved by the national militia. The whole operation

tion was executed with the utmoſt tranquillity, and the people were ſatisfied.

He then went to the abbey, and informed the duke de Beuvron of what he had done, with a deſign to prevent a greater evil; and after walking to fort Galet, returned home, and drew up a plan of the diſpoſition for guarding the forts and magazines, which employed 150 citizens *per* day.

At the end of about three days, the militia, who had their own trades and domeſtic affairs to ſuperintend, finding that the duty occupied too much of their time, came and beſought the general, as a favour, that he would diſcharge them from the burden of ſuch a ſervice, and reſtore the guard of the fort and magazines to the troops. This was exactly what he had expected; he accordingly conſented to their demand, and put every thing on in its former footing, without once reproaching them with their miſplaced diſtruſt.

Throughout the whole kingdom the inſurrections followed exactly the ſame courſe. At this very epoch the inhabitants of Valence in Dauphiné, a grand eſtabliſhment for

the caſting of artillery, actuated by the ſelf-ſame principle of ſuſpicion, made a ſimilar propoſition to Mr. de Voiſins, a *marechal de camp*. He was imprudent enough to refuſe compliance, and even to point the artillery of the citadel againſt the people. The cannoneers however refuſed to fire, and Mr. de Voiſins with two other officers was killed: had he acted like Dumouriez, the moment that this commotion had been appeaſed, he might have reſumed the poſſeſſion of the magazines. It was this falſe zeal of the royaliſts that rendered them odious in every place, proved fatal to the king, and ended by ruining every thing.

From this moment Cherbourg enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity, with the exception of a few intrigues which might have produced very ſerious conſequences. It was owing to the acceptance of the place of *commandant-general* of the national guard, and the prudence of Dumouriez, that the public money, the magazines of all kinds, the duke de Beuvron, and he himſelf, were ſaved. But as every other, this popular authority alone excepted, was ſoon after annihilated, his conduct

conduct was depicted to the duke de Beuvron as an inſtance of the foreſight of an ambitious man, who was eager to ſupplant him: and the perſons, who ought to have interfered, to re-eſtabliſh an union between them, ſet in motion all the ſerpents of calumny.

The credit and prudence of Dumouriez prevented this ſchiſm from degenerating into a civil war on the part of the nobility of Cotentin on one ſide, and the people of Cherbourg on the other.

After having organiſed the *national* guard, he reſigned his command, which would have obliged him to a conſtant reſidence, and might have been the means of bringing the diſputes between the two factions to an iſſue. Having therefore obtained leave of abſence from the miniſter of war, he left Cherbourg in the month of November *.

* 1789.—*Tranſ.*

CHAP IV.

The Year 1790.

On his arrival at Paris, he reviſited all his friends. The elder Crillon preſented him to the jacobins. He went however to their club but ſeldom, as he found them too violent, and too noiſy; he beſides perceived that he ſhould loſe his time. He never repaired but once to the aſſembly, in which he diſcovered but too little dignity; it was then, however, that it was beſt compoſed.

He once more met at Paris an aged literary man of the name of Laplace, who had formerly frequented the ſame ſocieties with himſelf; he died in 1793, being then 87 years old, with the title of *father of the men of letters*. The famous Barrere, who was then mild, and amiable, and who was much eſteemed in the conſtituent aſſembly, lodged above him in the ſame houſe; he formed an acquaintance

acquaintance with him, Emeri of Metz, and Montcalm; and theſe, with Crillon and two or three others, dined with him every Tueſday. They gravely diſcuſſed all the queſtions which were to be agitated in the aſſembly, and they ſketched out the plan of ſome decrees.

It was then that he drew up a refutation of one of Mirabeau's orations, relative to the freedom of the negroes, and he predicted that the colonies would be loſt if they argued this queſtion with all that vehemence with which every thing was diſcuſſed in the aſſembly.

He fully agreed with him as to the principle of *right*, but he demonſtrated the impoſſibility of applying it immediately to our Eaſt and Weſt India iſlands. He ſaid:

" Alleviate the lot of the negroes, encourage their population, give them the fee ſimple of lands, and at the end of half a century, when you have a ſufficient number of native blacks, to preclude the neceſſity of importing Africans, you may prohibit ſuch an intercourſe, as contrary to the rights of man; or if you permit this commerce

merce to be continued, the moment that the negroes ſet foot in your colonies, let them be put in poſſeſſion of ſome property, and you may enact that the coloniſts who purchaſe them, ſhall be obliged at the end of a certain fixed term, ſuch as two or three years, to give them their freedom; you can order partial enfranchiſements among the old ſlaves, and the mixture of blood will do the reſt. As to the mulattoes, there is neither juſtice, nor policy, nor good ſenſe, in denying them the rights of citizens."

He treated exactly in the ſame manner the queſtion relative to the property of the clergy. He laid it down as a baſis, that this in fact was national property, and on this point he cited the opinion of the ſenate of Venice in 1534. Here follows what was advanced, ſupported, and approved by that wiſe body, which was far ſuperiour in point of knowledge to the age in which it lived. "The large portion of goods beſtowed on the church cannot be exempted from the burdens of the ſtate, without increaſing the preſſure of contributions on the part of the remainder

remainder of the citizens: the military ſervice being eſtabliſhed for the ſafety of all, no perſon can be diſpenſed from contributing to it. The intention of thoſe, who bequeathed property to the church, could never have been to have impoveriſhed the ſtate by diminiſhing its revenues; and if it were poſſible for man to have conceived ſo unjuſt an idea, it belongs to the ſtate to apply a remedy, in reſuming, in reſpect to this property, *thoſe rights which are inalienable by their very nature.*"

In addition to this authority, reſpectable on the part of a ſenate renowned for its orthodoxy, the example of Ruſſia and of England *, where the prieſts receive ſalaries, is ſufficient to overturn all the arguments of the clergy, who wiſh to make a ſpiritual affair of what involves temporal intereſts alone: but he at the ſame time thought, that although the nation had a right to declare itſelf the proprietor of ſuch property as exiſted without heirſhip, it was both un-

* The author is here miſinformed as to the *eſtabliſhed church* of England; the prieſts of all other denominations are however *nearly* in this predicament.—*Tranſ.*

juſt

juſt and impolitic to deſpoil thoſe who enjoyed the uſufruct. He accordingly propoſed:

1°. That by a conſtitutional law, the aſſembly ſhould declare all the property of the clergy national property.

2°. That they ſhould by a ſecond decree declare, that the poſſeſſion of more than one benefice ſhould be conſidered as *ſimony*, in conformity to the canons of the church, and that in conſequence of this, thoſe who held more than one ſhould be allowed to make their option, and reſign all the reſt.

3°. That by a third decree, they ſhould follow the example of the laſt two or three kings of France, in reſpect to the ſuppreſſion of ſuch convents as did not poſſeſs a ſufficient number of inmates, and of all uſeleſs religious orders. In the courſe of this very century, the Jeſuits, the Celeſtines, the Camaldule friars, and the order of St. Ruth, had been aboliſhed; and when once the monks were all ſuppreſſed, the evil would not have been very great.

4°. That by another decree they ſhould prohibit females from taking the vows before

fore thirty, and males before forty years of age. An edict of Louis XV. had already fixed this period at twenty-five years of age.

5°. That the *caiſſe des économats* of the clergy ſhould become national, for the receipts, diſburſements, and management of all the benefices of the clergy vacated by death, or in conſequence of the four preceding decrees; that an account ſhould be delivered in yearly of the ſtate of this property; that out of it the provincial curacies ſhould be endowed, and the ſeminaries ſupported, and that the number of participants ſhould be fixed, in proportion to the number of prieſts who might be deemed neceſſary in each province; and when this operation had been concluded, and the ſervice of public worſhip fixed on a ſolid foundation, a prieſt who ſaid maſs ſhould not receive leſs than twelve hundred, or an archbiſhop more than thirty thouſand livres, and a portion of the ſurplus ſhould be put up to auction every year. But as the nation would in the mean time be in want of money, he propoſed that a loan ſhould take place of four hundred millions, which

which might be borrowed on the *caiſſe des économats*, and would be filled with rapidity; this would have rendered the very perilous meaſure of the creation of *aſſignats* unneceſſary. The clergy in general would not have been plundered, the monaſteries would in all probability have become extinct, and was very improperly termed the *petty clergy*, would have been contented and attached to the conſtitution which thus conferred on them a decent livelihood.

This ſcheme appeared too moderate and too ſlow: it had one great fault in the eyes of ſuch legiſlators, for it did not *deſtroy any thing*, and it was their ſyſtem to deſtroy every thing.

The property of the clergy was decreed to be national property; and it was put up to auction by the lump. But when they came to calculate the ſalaries and penſions of the prieſts, as they were only to receive one twelfth annually of the amount ſold, and as no reſervation had been made out of which they could raiſe a ſum ſufficient to pay this annual debt of more than a hundred and thirty millions, the permanent convention

convention adopted means worthy of itſelf; this was to attack religion on purpoſe to diſpenſe with the payment of its miniſters. They deſtroyed the ark, that they might get rid of the Levites!

In the winter of 1789-90, Mr. de Laporte, *maître des requêtes*, the oldeſt and beſt of Dumouriez friends, became ſteward of the king's houſehold. They had been educated together at the college of *Louis le grand*, and although often ſeparated on account of their different profeſſions, they had not forgotten each other. Laporte, who had been firſt *intendant* of the marine at Breſt, and afterwards a miniſter, poſſeſſed great knowledge, the moſt unbounded probity, and attachment to the perſon of Louis XVI. which was carried to adoration.

Theſe two friends now met oftener than before, and were continually occupied about the ſafety of this unfortunate prince. Dumouriez, who united the deſire of beholding the monarchy ſettled by means of a free and ſolid conſtitution with the love of his king, whom he eſteemed, preſented Laporte in January 1790 with a note for that monarch,

narch, in which he repreſented to him the neceſſity of adopting the conſtitution without heſitation, and adviſed him to repair to the aſſembly without any previous notice, and there take a voluntary oath to maintain it,

The king did ſo, and this event was accompanied by the greateſt ſucceſs. If he had continued to act firmly and frankly, he would have outwitted both the jacobins and the republicans, and have been at this moment ſeated on the throne; but the bad advice, inſtilled into his ear by the perfidious counſellors who ſurrounded him; his flight after having of his own accord reiterated the oath; and, in ſhort, his continual tergiverſations, contributed to convert this circumſtance to his own diſadvantage, and produced faults, that did not however deſerve that death, which no Frenchman had a right to pronounce upon him.

Dumouriez then thought, and ſtill continues of opinion, that the ſituation of a conſtitutional king governing a free people, incapable of doing wrong, enabled only to recompenſe, and nominating to all the offices in a great

great kingdom, was the moſt ſolid and majeſtic of all poſſible ſituations. Providence did not permit this prince to be penetrated with ſimilar ſentiments, or allow the French to be juſt and humane towards a king, who was a good but miſguided man.

He alſo by means of his friend Laporte communicated a very uſeful piece of advice to the king and queen, which was however rejected. The queen, ſince ſhe reſided at the Thuilleries, had begun to gain a little on the affections of the people; they had admired her courage during the frightful tumults of the 5th and 6th of October 1789; they pitied her: he wiſhed to augment the regard they now ſeemed to entertain, by procuring for her an opportunity of being beloved without being degraded. Maternal love is the moſt powerful of all engines, even among the moſt ſavage nations, and the French were then ſtill in poſſeſſion of the milder virtues.

In the ſtreet *Montmartre*, where Dumouriez lodged, there was a little battalion of boys, all ſons of merchants, or of reputable citizens; they were well educated, well clothed,

a cordiality would have been the reſult, which would have arreſted the progreſs of diſtruſt, hatred, and criminality. Alas! ſhe in a ſhort time afterwards beheld her huſband and her ſon dreſſed in this very uniform, without its anſwering any uſeful purpoſe, being obliged to do ſo by force, and conſequently with diſgrace.

Three months ſubſequent to his admiſſion among the jacobins, the elder Crillon told Dumouriez, that he and his brother, the biſhop of Autun, the dukes de Rochefoucault and Liancourt, Emery, and many others, all of them reſpectable members of the aſſembly, intended to ſeparate themſelves from the jacobins, and found another ſociety. He inſtantly perceived all the inconvenience that was likely to ariſe from this ſchiſm; he therefore repreſented to him, that if the conduct of the jacobins appeared now to be too violent, it would become ſtill more ſo when their preſence no longer counterbalanced the influence of the hot headed members; that, however moderate the ſpirit of their new club might be, it would ſoon degenerate ſo, as to produce two factions, which would

thwart each other in the aſſembly, and afford advantage to the counter-revolutionary party; that the jacobins, thus weakened by ſo numerous a deſertion, would beat up for recruits among all the newſwriters and pamphleteers of Paris, and become dangerous, as there would no longer be any check upon their actions, and having a new party to combat, they would be zealous to bring all their ſtrength into the field on purpoſe to oppoſe it.

Theſe objections proved fruitleſs. Crillon *junior*, who was very rich, and had a ſuperb hotel, founded a club that met there. The jacobins had ſagacity enough to ſend a deputation requeſting them to rejoin the mother ſociety; but their application was treated with ſcorn.

This club increaſing in point of numbers, engendered that of 1789, out of the aſhes of which ſprung the *Feuillans*. The jacobins, thus irritated, no longer kept any terms with them, and in the end diſturbed and finally deſtroyed all theſe clubs. Dumouriez ceaſed to frequent the jacobins, but he would not join any of the new ſocieties.

Theſe trifling follies produced great effects, and precipitated all the movements of a criminal revolution, the beginning of which announced itſelf in puerile diſputes.

Dumouriez at this time reſided in Paris, without enjoying any public ſtation whatever, for the military commands were in a manner ſuppreſſed, and he did not receive any of his appointments. He was obliged, on purpoſe to pay the annuity he allowed to his wife, and his fourth*, as well as his private expences, to ſell his plate, which however would not have proved nearly ſufficient had it not been for the generoſity of a female friend with whom he lived, and to whom he had been under the greateſt obligations during ſeven years, as ſhe has ſacrificed herſelf entirely on his account.

He then frequently met Lafayette, to whom he was greatly attached, and whom he ſtill loves, although that general afterwards became, and that too very undeſervedly, his moſt bitter enemy. He has always done him juſtice. Lafayette poſſeſſes

* This was the patriotic gift of one fourth of the income of all citizens.—*Tranſ.*

knowledge,

knowledge, virtue, a great coolneſs, and an abundance of courage. He is generous, mild, and affable. His greateſt fault is, that he affects to be ſubtle, and that he is deficient in experience, which prevents him from judging of the characters of mankind. With the beſt poſſible intentions, he has committed great errours in the courſe of the revolution. The open war which he waged with the jacobins, was very imprudent in his ſituation.

It is to be obſerved however, that Dumouriez, who reproaches him with this fault, afterwards ſubjected himſelf to the ſame inconvenience; but their conduct differed in this, that Lafayette's was voluntary, and Dumouriez forced; it was not ſo much the jacobins that Lafayette hated, as Mirabeau and Lameth, who were then in vogue; the two latter ſince that time conducted themſelves very ill. His hatred therefore originated in a ſpirit of faction. That of Dumouriez was inſpired by indignation.

He often adviſed Lafayette to become friends with the jacobins, at leaſt in appearance; they were not then what they have

ſince become. Depending on the extent of his credit, he rejected this counſel; and yet, when Lameth no longer influenced this ſociety, he was weak enough to preſent himſelf there to be interrogated like a criminal by Danton, and to ſubject himſelf to numberleſs affronts.

The colonies about this time began to give uneaſineſs to the legiſlature. Briſſot, who was as yet nothing more than a dangerous newſwriter, and who, that he might become important, carried all the ſchemes of the innovators to exceſs, had been one of the founders of the ſociety *of the friends of the negroes*. From this ſociety iſſued Oger the mulatto, who ſailed to the Weſt Indies with the deſign of inflaming the minds of his brethren who were oppreſſed by the white inhabitants of St. Domingo. His death ſerved only to increaſe the flame. Not only the *friends of the negroes* had incited the other mulattoes to vengeance, but they had alſo worked upon the lower orders of the whites, and the negroes.

At Martinico they had employed a mode of diſcord exactly the reverſe of this. They there

there rekindled a diviſion which had indeed always ſubſiſted among the whites themſelves. The coloniſts or planters were often at the mercy of the merchants; they paid their debts but badly, and perhaps hoped to find a pretext in a revolution, for not paying them at all. The others exacted whatever was owing to them with too much harſhneſs, and thus a civil war was eaſily brought about between *Fort Royal*, the reſidence of the planters, and *St. Pierre*, where the merchants lived. The coloniſts readily procured the aid of the mulattoes, who were planters, and debtors, like themſelves; but the better to inſure this, they allowed them to participate in all the rights of citizenſhip.

Thus at St. Domingo, hoſtilities took place between the whites on one ſide, and the mulattoes and negroes on the other; while at Martinico, the whites waged war with one another, the planters and mulattoes oppoſing the merchants, againſt whom the government alſo declared; the political ſyſtem, and the motives of diviſion, were abſolutely oppoſite to each other in

theſe

this depended much on the prudence and firmneſs of the governour, who ought to employ the forces of the nation, not to ſupport one party againſt another, but to oblige them both to ceaſe hoſtilities, and convert a ſtate of warfare into a criminal proſecution before judges appointed by the king and the aſſembly.

Barnave and the reſt objected, that it did not belong to them, but the miniſter, to draw up inſtructions for a general. So much the worſe for them both if they ſhould be deceived, for they were reſponſible!

"Will you, or will you not, ſave the colonies, and confer a laſting benefit on your country?" ſaid Dumouriez. "The inſtructions now demanded of you, do not reſpect the civil or military conduct of the general; they relate ſolely to the principles on which you ought to found your decree, ſo that his actions may not be in direct contradiction with your conſtitutional law, whenever it ſhall make its appearance."

This very reaſonable propoſition having been negatived, he then beſought his friends

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to ceaſe their ſolicitations on his behalf, as he no longer wiſhed to accept of the appointment. It was conferred on Behague, a man of merit, and a good officer, who acquired the appellation of *Ariſtocrate*, after he had exerted himſelf to the utmoſt.

In this affair, as well as in all others which he was enabled to probe to the bottom, Dumouriez perceived with grief, that the court and the conſtituent aſſembly were two enemies, who were employed in laying ſnares for each other; that both of them had *the good of their country* in their mouths, but that neither was occupied about the attainment of it; that the French, who began to glory in the name of *citizens*, had not become ſuch; that the court had not adapted itſelf to circumſtances, and that ſtill preſerving its character for the want of foreſight, notwithſtanding the terrible leſſons of adverſity, it flattered itſelf to regain its loſt authority, by allowing the legiſlators to run headlong into the commiſſion of abſurdities, truſting to the hope, that the nation would ſoon be diſguſted with the calamities produced by anarchy. On the other

other hand, theſe very ſame legiſlators, with great, perhaps with too great talents, alſo conſidered anarchy and diſorder as the means of rendering the court utterly contemptible, and of gaining the excluſive confidence of the nation. He conſequently anticipated great evils, and a circumſtance that then occurred induced him either to look for a remedy in external events, or at leaſt to a ſituation that might prevent him from being a witneſs of the approaching calamities.

The inſurrection of the Belgic provinces had preceded that of France; it appeared to have, or at leaſt to be ſuſceptible of a greater union, and conſequently of a more quick, and complete ſucceſs. The imperial troops, obliged to give way before a general attack, which was accompanied by the deſertion of the Walloon regiments, had been forced to retire into Luxemburg, the only one of the ten provinces which ſtill remained under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria. This revolution neither announced diſorder, nor proſcription, nor deſtruction. The three orders of the nation were

united

united in the ſame principles of liberty; all the people were armed, money was circulated in great plenty, and a Pruſſian general, who poſſeſſed ſome reputation, commanded an army in Luxemburg, not of national guards, but of regimented and regular troops. It was in that point of view that the Belgic revolution appeared to thoſe who beheld it at a diſtance.

We were not then at war with the court of Vienna; the alliance ſtill ſubſiſted in appearance, but the Auſtrian cabinet had diſplayed the moſt decided averſion to the late innovations. It openly ſupported the cauſe of the emigrant princes; it excited the king of Pruſſia, and the other powers of Europe, againſt the national aſſembly and its labours; faithful to its treaty with the king of France, it ſeparated the intereſts of the prince from thoſe of the people; it affected to look upon him as a priſoner; it conſidered all the ſteps taken by the French to form a monarchical conſtitution, as ſo many attacks upon royalty; and it embraced every occaſion to treat, and that too without the circumlocution, the whole French nation

as if it had been in a ſtate of rebellion.

It had already begun, at Reichenbach, to concert means for oppoſing the revolution; and it afterwards formed a ſtrong coalition at Pilnitz, on purpoſe to annihilate it.

In addition to all this, it was deeply intereſted in the iſſue. It was certain, that the ſucceſs of the French revolution muſt neceſſarily include that of the Low Countries, becauſe as the two nations were neighbours, and both of them in a ſtate of inſurrection, they would be naturally induced to ſupport each other.

The court of Vienna, however, had adopted a bad ſyſtem of politics; it would have diſcovered far more wiſdom to have come to an explanation with the Belgians, and to have reſtored all the franchiſes of an antient conſtitution, to which they were ſtrongly attached, and which indeed ſtrengthened the ſovereignty of the houſe of Auſtria over thoſe charming provinces. The emperor Francis II, who has adopted this juſt and paternal mode of conduct, will reap the benefit

benefit of it; and this good and loving people will out of gratitude enſure to him the unſhaken poſſeſſion of the moſt brilliant inheritance of his anceſtors *.

It would have been alſo prudent to have deſiſted from intermeddling in the internal affairs of France, and, inſtead of encouraging the folly of the princes, by holding out hope of ſuccour, which could only produce a war, to have adviſed them to have returned, and rejoined the king. Their obſtinacy could only augment his danger, by exaſperating a violent nation, which it would have been better to have ſoftened; it became treaſon on their part, ſince they reſiſted the orders and prayers of their king; ſince they appeared publicly in arms; ſince they cauſed aſſignats to be forged, a circumſtance that affected the commerce and the property of all Europe; ſince they forced the nobility to abandon their employments, and their homes, in order to increaſe their troops,

* It is obvious that this paſſage was written previous to the concluſion of the late campaign, which left Auſtrian Flanders under the dominion of the French.—*Tranſ.*

and their embarraſſments; ſince by conſtantly repeating that the king was no longer free, they inſinuated an idea into the nation of bereaving him of his liberty; ſince by a continual ſucceſſion of petty conſpiracies in Paris, which were always badly conducted, and proved conſtantly unſucceſsful, they augmented the ſuſpicions of the people againſt their unfortunate monarch; ſince they adviſed him to have recourſe to proteſtation and flight, and inſenſibly led him on toward his ruin.

The court of Vienna, inſtead of loſing, muſt have gained, by the ſettlement of the French conſtitution on a ſolid foundation. Its alliance with France would then have been protected from the fluctuation of a verſatile court, the conduct of which varied with every change of miniſters, factions, miſtreſſes, or favourites.

But none at that period contemplated the affairs of France with that coolneſs, and foreſight, with which they ought to have been examined. Frenchmen, foreigners, courts, miniſters, princes, the conſtituent aſſembly, and the people, were all blinded by

by paſſions and prejudices; all of them have committed faults; all have conſpired againſt unhappy France; all of them have torn her to pieces; all have aſſiſted in plunging her into anarchy; this very anarchy at preſent menaces the whole of Europe, and its fury can only be extinguiſhed in ſtreams of blood.

The court of Vienna took a too active, and to avoid circumlocution, a too hoſtile part in the revolution, to preclude France from being juſtified in meditating repriſals, by intermeddling in the Belgic diſturbances. The Jacobin club had not as yet acquired that fatal activity which it has ſince diſplayed; it had not as yet dreamed of becoming a *propaganda*, and at this epoch it poſſeſſed no manner of influence in regard to external politics.

Montmorin, who conducted foreign affairs with a feeble hand, was much attached to the king; but his undiſcerning, and indiſcriminate affection proved fatal both to the monarch and the miniſter. He was eager to reſtore the royal authority, in all the plenitude of its former arbitrary power,

and thus to cheat the conſtitutional party. He conſidered the duke of Orleans as an obſtacle to this deſign, and wiſhing at preſent for his abſence from France, he had found means to inſpire him with the deſire of becoming duke of Brabant. Emiſſaries had accordingly been diſpatched into Belgia, and the baſe Philip himſelf had been ſent to the court of London, with inſtructions in expreſs oppoſition to that attachment which Montmorin profeſſed towards the houſe of Auſtria. This petty inſtance of *Machiaveliſm*, this double game, had proved unſucceſsful, and the whole intrigue was already forgotten, when Lafayette and Dumouriez, for the firſt time, entered into a ſerious diſcuſſion relative to the Belgic provinces.

The latter offered to go and examine the ſtate of this revolution on the ſpot: not to impoſe upon the people a deſpicable ſovereign, for there was no longer any queſtion of this, and Lafayette hated the duke too much to uphold his intereſts; but to aſcertain the degree of confidence which might be placed in ſuch an inſurrection,

and

and in its chiefs, who now openly ſolicited the aſſiſtance of France.

The congreſs which aſſumed the ſovereign power had ſent two deputies to Paris. Dumouriez converſed with them by means of Lafayette. It was agreed that he ſhould ſet out for Bruſſels; he did not chooſe however to take this ſtep without informing Montmorin, who at firſt expreſſed much averſion, but finally acceded to it; at the ſame time however exacting a promiſe, that in whatever ſituation he might find the affairs of Belgia, he would return to Paris, and give an account of them, previouſly to entering into any perſonal treaty with the congreſs.

This indeed was his own expreſs intention. He was determined not to engage with the Belgians, without firſt knowing whether he ſhould be ſupported by the French nation, as he had no inclination either to deceive that people on the one hand, or to expoſe himſelf to any cenſure on the other. He recollected what had occurred in Poland. But it was his wiſh, if the thing were poſſible, either to produce a grand diverſion

in favour of France, by means of this country, or to oblige the court of Vienna to deſiſt from intermeddling with the French revolution; and if it did not conſent to this, to expoſe it, in its turn, to great embarraſſments, in caſe it ſhould perſevere in its counter-revolutionary activity.

He ſet off in the month of June, with the two deputies from the Belgic congreſs, to whom he was preſented as a perſon *ſecretly acknowledged* by his court, and who was to be conſulted by them on the ſubjects of war and politics. It needed no great penetration to diſcover how much this congreſs was unworthy of the confidence of the people. Van-der-Noot appeared to him to be juſt ſuch another leader as Maſſaniello *, and Van-Eupen, a hypocrite and an impoſtor. Theſe two men, who were the inſtruments, and the creatures, of the courts of Berlin, and the Hague, deceived the Belgians in the groſſeſt manner, for they had driven from office all the higher or-

* A fiſherman of Naples, who brought about a revolution in that city.—*Tranſ.*

ders

ders of the nobility, and all the able men of the great cities. The moſt ſhameful ſpoliation ruined their pecuniary reſources; a blind fanaticiſm precluded the idea of a wiſe policy; and an inſolent mob ſupported a cruel deſpotiſm.

Dumouriez repaired to the army; it was commanded by a Pruſſian general, an impoſtor alſo, who did not even conceal that the fate of Belgia depended on the congreſs of Reichenbach: the troops were full of courage, but they were actually in want of arms, clothing, proviſion, ammunition, money, officers, and diſcipline.

He immediately judged that France could derive no advantage from ſuch a chaos; he lamented the errours of ſo worthy a people; he perceived that the Belgic revolution was drawing towards a cloſe, and that the inhabitants would be infinitely more happy by being reſtored to the dominion of their legitimate ſovereigns, than if they were any longer permitted to make an ill uſe of a falſe and hollow liberty. Nevertheleſs, that he might fulfil his miſſion, he preſented two memorials to the

congreſs, the one political, in which he endeavoured to demonſtrate to them how much they were deceived by all the neighbouring powers, many of whom, after having brought them to the very edge of the precipice, were about to take part againſt them; the other military, in which they received hints reſpecting the ſpecies of warfare they ought to adopt againſt ſuch a formidable power as that of Auſtria.

After this he returned home, having ſpent only ſeventeen days in the whole journey. He committed all his obſervations to writing, and concluded by way of reſult, that the ſcheme of ſupporting the Belgic provinces ought to be abandoned. This idea gave great pleaſure to Montmorin, and was received very coldly by Laſayette, who was but too much occupied with the intrigues which were continually carrying on either for or againſt him.

In the courſe of that very winter the Belgic revolution was terminated, and the Low Countries were reconquered with the utmoſt facility by the Auſtrians. General Schoenfeldt did not oppoſe the leaſt obſtacle to their

their progreſs, and returned ſoon after to receive from the king of Pruſſia the recompence he had merited by his conduct.

Montmorin and the whole court were quite enchanted at beholding the fate of the inſurrection in the Low Countries; they conſidered thoſe provinces as the *bridge* over which the counter-revolution was to penetrate into France, and this hope, by deceiving, induced them to commit freſh blunders, which finally produced the misfortunes of their country.

It was at the epoch of his journey into Brabant, that Dumouriez, after an interval of two years, readmitted into his ſervice the faithful Baptiſte, whom he then regarded rather as a child than a domeſtic, and who ſince, by means of a brilliant action, has elevated himſelf to the rank of his fellow ſoldier, and his friend.

On his return to Paris, being deſtitute both of fortune and employment, he ſpeculated on the progreſs of the revolution, and found cauſe to be diſcontented with it. He frequently ſaw his friend Laporte, who languiſhed for the old government; but the

difference of their ſentiments never cooled the fervency of their attachment. He gave his opinion of every ſtep which he imagined might be productive of any danger to the king, whether proceeding from his own conduct or that of thoſe who ſurrounded him, and Laporte faithfully tranſmitted to his maſter all the notes and obſervations of his friend.

Latour-du-Pin Paulin, the miniſter at war, had conceived an averſion to Dumouriez. He gave full credit to all the calumnies which the partiſans of the family of Harcourt had propagated relative to his conduct in Normandy. They accuſed him of having openly encouraged the inſurrections in that province, and they had carefully concealed from the king that firmneſs and juſtice which he had diſplayed during the tumult at Cherbourg.

It was not until the following year that Louis XVI was undeceived by Laporte; and that prince has ſince confeſſed to Dumouriez, that he had long entertained the moſt rooted prejudices againſt him. He has no manner of doubt but that it was without

without the privity of the duke d'Harcourt, that theſe calumnies were circulated, as they originated perhaps in the falſe zeal of his flatterers. He loves and reſpects that nobleman, and he ſighs at the idea of his being unfortunate.

Latour-du-Pin was at length diſmiſſed, and Duportail, who had ſerved in America with Lafayette, was at his inſtance nominated ſecretary at war, and ſoon proved, by permitting himſelf to be intirely governed by the Lameths, how much Lafayette was deceived in his choice.

On his return from Brabant, Dumouriez had found Lafayette buſied about the formation of a national guard throughout the whole kingdom, and a decree was then under conſideration for this purpoſe. He himſelf had in 1789 drawn up regulations for the militia of the town of Cherbourg; Lafayette had done the ſame for thoſe of the city of Paris: but theſe partial attempts were now to give place to a more extenſive ſcheme. The beſt mode for a general organization was to be deviſed; and he was requeſted by Lafayette to conſider the

ject. Six deputies were appointed to examine his ſcheme; three belonging to the conſtitutional, and three to the military committee. Theſe were Talleyrand, biſhop of Autun, the abbé Sieyes, Rabaud de St. Eſtienne, who was chairman, Mathiew de Montmorency, Emery of Metz, and another. They met to conſider the ſketch which he had drawn up, and which was much applauded, but not adopted; it was found to be too military, or, in other words, too methodical.

He propoſed to declare every citizen from the age of eighteen to that of ſixty, a ſoldier of his country. The firſt claſs was compoſed of a battalion *per* diſtrict, which would have produced a total of 547 battalions. Each battalion was to conſiſt of half a company of artillery, or 53 men with two field pieces, a company of grenadiers of one hundred men, one of chaſſeurs, and four of fuſileers, each of the ſame number, which would have produced 27,000 cannoneers, 1094 field pieces, 54,000 grenadiers, 54,000 chaſſeurs, 220,000 rank and file of the line—total 350,000 infantry, without including thoſe

thoſe furniſhed by the cities of Paris, Lyons, Marſeilles, Bourdeaux, Rouen, Nantes, &c. As the population of theſe exceeded that of a diſtrict, they were to provide a proportional contingent. There was alſo to be a ſquadron of cavalry and one of dragoons, amounting each to 120 men, to be raiſed by every department, which would have produced a body of 20,000 horſe.

One fourth of this firſt claſs was to aſſemble every year, and no ſubſtitutes were to be allowed. It was to be compoſed of unmarried men from eighteen to forty-five years of age.

The ſecond claſs, conſiſting of married men, divided into companies of one hundred each, without any grenadiers, or light infantry, was only to be employed in its own diſtrict.

All the married men from forty-five to ſixty years of age, as alſo all thoſe without any fixed employment, were to form the third claſs, and theſe could not be ſent out of their own canton.

It was propoſed, that this military force ſhould not be under the orders of the executive

cutive power, except in conſequence of a formal decree on the part of the legiſlative body, the reaſons for which ſhould be aſſigned, and the time of ſervice fixed. All thoſe deſtitute of employment being thrown into the third claſs, they could not prove hurtful, as they would never be put in requiſition.

This plan alſo embraced a variety of other regulations; by means of the militia the troops of the line were to be recruited, and perhaps diſbanded in caſe the army ſhould become one day dangerous.

Towards the end of this year, the committee of public ſafety of the conſtituent aſſembly diſcovered a conſpiracy formed at Lyons, to deliver up that important city into the hands of the princes, who were then at Turin. A major-general of the name of Lachapelle, who commanded there, was ſuſpected of having either entered into, or at leaſt been privy to the plot; in this predicament, they reſolved to cauſe him to be arreſted, and his place filled by another general officer on whom they could depend.

Layfayette propoſed Dumouriez, who was approved

approved of. He was accordingly ſent for, and deſired to hold himſelf in readineſs to depart within the ſpace of twenty-four hours. He repaired that very night, along with Lafayette, and two members of the committee, to the miniſter at war, who was charged to take the king's orders on this ſubject, on the very next day.

Early in the enſuing morning he went to the committee, where he was employed in learning the particulars of this conſpiracy, which was not fictitious. He dined with Montmorin, who told him that he would give him one cypher for Turin, and another for Switzerland, on purpoſe to puſh his diſcoveries as far as poſſible, and to diſcomfit all plots whatever, beſeeching him at the ſame time *to be tender* of the princes, and more eſpecially of count d'Artois. He frankly promiſed to do ſo, for it was not only his intention that they ſhould not be implicated in this affair, but he was enchanted to have ſo good an opportunity of renewing his correſpondence with Vaudreuil, by whoſe means he would be enabled

to render a ſervice to this prince, and prevail upon him to return.

In 1790 this was ſtill poſſible, for the king appeared to deſire it, and that too, perhaps, ſincerely. Things had not yet been carried to extremities.

Montmorin ſaid that he would mention this converſation and his good intentions to his majeſty. On leaving the miniſter, he went to his friend Laporte, and repeated to him what had paſſed, at the ſame time reiterating his promiſe to be as favourable to the king's brothers as poſſible, conſiſtently with the good of his country.

After this he returned home, and hearing nothing from Duportail, he wrote a note to him, to know whether he had received the king's commands relative to his appointment. The anſwer brought back was, that he was confined to his chamber by a ſevere cold, but that the day after the next, being that on which the council ſat, he would make the propoſition.

The committee of public ſafety had in the mean time communicated this affair to the

the correſponding committee of the municipality of Paris. Briſſot was a member of the latter; he was alſo the editor of the Jacobin paper called *le Patriote*. He was thus enabled to inſert an account of the conſpiracy at Lyons, and of the nomination of Dumouriez to the command there, before the king had heard a ſingle ſyllable on the ſubject. This prince, on reading his paper, was very juſtly offended at this circumſtance, and when Duportail waited on him to make the propoſal, he told him, that he might nominate any body he pleaſed, Dumouriez excepted, for he would never permit the jacobins to interfere in the appointment of his generals.

It is pretended that the Lameths alſo intrigued againſt him, becauſe he had been ſupported by Lafayette, their enemy, with whom Dumouriez was at this time connected, and that they were deſirous to beſtow the command on Theodore Lameth, their brother, who was at the head of a regiment of cavalry in the neighbourhood of Lyons. Whatever might be the cauſe,

fact is, that another was appointed in his ſtead.

He himſelf was not in the leaſt affected, except ſo far as concerned the rumour that had gone abroad by anticipation, and the dry manner in which the king pronounced his excluſion. He ſpoke on this ſubject to his friend Laporte, and he in his turn to Louis XVI; and it was on this occaſion that this good prince freely owned the prejudice he entertained againſt this general-officer.

He conſoled himſelf as well as he could for this diſappointment. At the commencement of the enſuing year generals were to be nominated to the command of the twenty-two diviſions of the army, and there were ſo few remaining that they would be under the neceſſity of appointing him. Beſides, the king had been ſo gracious as to tell Laporte, that this circumſtance ſhould be of no diſſervice to his friend, and that he ſhould be employed.

CHAP. V.

The Year 1791.

DUMOURIEZ continued to live in retirement, contemplating the progreſs of affairs, and viſiting Montmorin and Lafayette from time to time. But the propoſition that had been made to him, to undertake thoſe two important * commands, cauſed him to be courted by the different factions. The viſcount de Noailles carried him to dine at the rich Laborde's, where he met the Lameths, d'Aiguillon, Menou, and Duport. He appeared to them to be a pedant, and they ſeemed to him to be replete with frivolity and preſumption, and therefore he never returned.

Mirabeau alſo wiſhed to be intimate with him. He was embroiled at this time both

* In the Weſt Indies, and at Lyons.—*Tranſ.*

with the Lafayette and Lameth factions; ſuperior to all the aſſembly in villainy, and in talents, he endeavoured, from intereſted motives, to aſſociate with men who either poſſeſſed knowledge, or the reputation of it. He had at this time abandoned the duke d'Orleans, whom he deſpiſed, and he was connected with the court and Montmorin, by whom he was bribed: it was his aim to become prime miniſter, and conſequently to begin by producing a counter revolution.

Dumouriez, who deteſted his immoralities, had neglected the frequent opportunities which had preſented themſelves, to cultivate an acquaintance with him. Notwithſtanding this, on the ſolicitation of St. Foy, one of his old friends, he permitted himſelf to be carried to his houſe. In the courſe of this firſt conference, Mirabeau developed all his projects, told him that within a few days he would make a total change in the diplomatic body, and produced his liſt to him. Dumouriez propoſed ſome alterations, to which he conſented, at the ſame time making him an offer

offer of the embaſſy to Pruſſia. He replied, that he would accept of it, provided it was only of three months duration; and obſerved that there was a reſidence inferiour to that, in point of dignity, but at the ſame time far more important—that of Mentz.

He explained to him, that there he could either treat with the princes, influencing the king at the ſame time, by means of Mr. Laporte, or diſcover and diſconcert their plots, if they were not to be gained over; that in the mean time general Heymann might be ſent into Pruſſia, without being inveſted with any public character; and that in the courſe of three months, if that time were properly employed, they would have an opportunity of pacifying foreign courts, and of completing the conſtitution, and of reſtoring its activity to the executive power. He added, that until then the king of Pruſſia would not receive an ambaſſadour without repugnance, and that a negotiation could be entered into with the court of Berlin, to keep in check that of Vienna, if its conduct ſhould give offence. They agreed in opinion relative to all theſe articles, and

Mirabeau went immediately with the liſt to Montmorin, who delivered it to his ſecretary Gerard de Renneval.

Dumouriez, recalling to his recollection the king's refuſal relative to the command of Lyons, wrote a letter to him, which was found in the fatal * *iron-box*, and has been ſince printed. He beſought his majeſty to let him know by means of his friend Laporte, whether he was averſe from employing him, as in that caſe, he would not permit his name to be included in the liſt about to be preſented to him by the miniſter for foreign affairs, but wait until ſome more favourable opportunity ſhould enable him to diſpel his majeſty's prejudices. The king was pleaſed with the letter, and told Laporte, that he no longer entertained any objection to him, and that he would willingly nominate him to a place if he ſhould be propoſed as a candidate.

At the end of four days he ſaw Mira-

* This *iron-box* was diſcovered in the wall of one of the apartments of the palace; it contained a number of papers, among which was the king's correſpondence with *Bouillie*, then an emigrant, and an outlaw.—*Tranſ.*

beau

beau for the ſecond time, who requeſted him to draw up a memorial relative to the principles of negotiation becoming the conſtitutional king of a free people. Dumouriez undertook to do ſo.

During this conference, in which matters of the utmoſt conſequence were treated of with the moſt unlimited confidence, the converſation happened to turn on the character of count Hertzberg, the famous Pruſſian miniſter. Mirabeau, who deteſted him, ſpoke of him as follows: "This old fox is ſurrounded by a chaplet of obſtructions, and attacked at the ſame time by at leaſt five or ſix maladies, all of which are mortal, and yet he is continually broaching new projects, as if he were to live a hundred years; while at the ſame time, one of the fatal ſiſters has her ſciſſars ready to cut the thread that holds the ſword of Damocles ſuſpended over his head." In four days after Mirabeau himſelf was no more! Dumouriez on this occaſion obſerved to St. Foy: "Mirabeau ſeems to have been miſtaken in reſpect to the head that was menaced by the ſword of Damocles."

The deſtinies, in cutting off the life of this extraordinary man, had at the ſame time ſevered the thread of all his projects. Dumouriez, who heard nothing from Montmorin, immediately waited upon him. An explanation enſued; Montmorin diſavowed having entered into any arrangement with Mirabeau, he even denied the liſt itſelf. Dumouriez then told the miniſter, that he would abandon him, and complain of this falſehood, which was an indubitable proof of his weakneſs; he at the ſame time predicted, that he would prove the ruin not only of the king, but of himſelf, by baniſhing both truth and dignity from his conduct.

He never ſaw him afterwards, and his prophecy has been but too literally accompliſhed. He regrets his tragic end. Mr. de Montmorin was greatly attached to the king, and poſſeſſed many good qualities, but he was unequal to his ſituation, more eſpecially at ſuch a critical period.

In the mean time a promotion, as was foreſeen, actually took place, and Dumouriez was appointed major-general of the twelfth diviſion. This event obliged him to return

to

to the jacobins. His long abſence had induced them to eraſe his name from the liſt of the ſociety. His motive for again becoming a member, was, that the jacobins of Paris had affiliated more than two thouſand provincial ſocieties to their own; that in the five departments in which he was about to command, there were thirty or forty compoſed of very *combuſtible* materials, and that if he had made his appearance there without being a jacobin, more eſpecially as he had once been a member of the mother ſociety, he would have been looked upon as an ariſtocrat, and conſequently placed in a ſituation in which he could neither have proved uſeful to his country nor his king; he had the precaution to announce this event to Louis XVI, and alſo to mention the motives of his conduct.

As Mirabeau was dead, and as Montmorin had not only neglected all the diplomatic principles which had been agreed upon, but ſtill continued to regulate foreign affairs according to the rules of the old government, Dumouriez, who at the ſolicitation of Mirabeau had draw up the tract entitled,

titled, " a diplomatic memorial," communicated the ſame to the friends of Montmorin, whom he no longer ſaw, on purpoſe to induce him to alter his miniſterial conduct, which was incompatible with the conſtitution, and dangerous to the king. It was then that Montmorin publiſhed a declaration in the king's name, which was to be ſent to all the miniſters of France at foreign courts. This ſtate paper contained ſuch an exaggeration of jacobinical principles, that neither Mirabeau nor Dumouriez would have adviſed the king to hold a language, which, far from regaining confidence, could not but augment diſtruſt by a too rapid paſſage from one extreme to another. Dumouriez, indignant of this new act of treachery, added a paragraph relative to this declaration, to his own memorial, which he now read at the ſociety of the jacobins; it obtained much praiſe, and was printed.

Soon after this, he learned that the jacobins, who now began to be deteſtable, had given it as their opinion, that it would be proper to caſhier all the officers of the army, and

and to make an election by means of the ſoldiers. If this idea, which had many partiſans even in the conſtituent aſſembly, had prevailed, the army would have been abſolutely annihilated. He converſed with Lafayette and Duportail on this ſubject, he alſo communicated his project to Laporte; and notwithſtanding the danger of oppoſing ſo popular an argument, he drew up a memorial, cauſed it to be communicated to the king, who approved of it, ſubmitted it to the cenſure of Duportail, and then read it to the jacobins.

This, which was entitled "a military memorial," ſupported thoſe principles on which the army of a free people ought to be conſtituted, traced out the duties of generals, officers, and privates, preſcribed the nature and the extent of the ſubordination of a ſoldier-citizen, and his relation with, and his duties in reſpect to other citizens; it concluded with a *formula* of a very reaſonable oath.

He did not on this occaſion receive ſo much applauſe, as when he read the "diplomatic memorial;" on the contrary, it

ſtead of procuring the aſſent of all, it was diſapproved by a plurality of ſuffrages; it was however printed, and it produced the ſole effect which he was deſirous of, that is, it put an end to the reverie about the election of officers.

The military committee of the aſſembly adopted the principles here laid down, but that their labours might have ſomething original, they adjoined to it a ridiculous form of an oath, which created a ſchiſm among the officers, made ſeveral leave the ſervice, and rendered thoſe that remained very bad ſervants of the conſtitution.

He was detained ſome time longer at Paris, by an office impoſed upon him by Duportail, who appointed him preſident of a council of war, that was to determine relative to an appeal on the part of Moreton, whom the count de Brienne, formerly miniſter, had deprived of the regiment of *la Fère*, in an arbitrary manner. Moreton richly deſerved to be broken, being a very violent and deſpotic colonel. But the count had refuſed him a court martial, and after the

the lapſe of ſeveral years, he now declaimed againſt ſuch a piece of injuſtice.

Dumouriez had received orders to proceed to Toul, where this affair was to have been decided, and this would have obliged him to remove to a great diſtance from Nantz, which was the place of his deſtination. It luckily occurred, that a ſufficient number of members could not be procured; he accordingly took advantage of this circumſtance to refuſe to go to Toul, and after having waited during a month at Paris, he returned his commiſſion to the miniſter, and ſet out for head quarters. Moreton was made a major general on purpoſe to keep him quiet, and Dumouriez unfortunately found him under his own command, in the courſe of the enſuing year.

The twelfth diviſion, to which he was attached, conſiſted only of twelve battalions and ſix ſquadrons. It was commanded by old Verteuil, formerly one of the beſt officers in the French army, but whoſe faculties were now entirely decayed. The ſecond major-general was d'Harambure, who never joined. It thus happened that he was ſaddled

ſaddled with all the burden of this command, which extended over five departments, Mayenne and Loire, or Angers, the lower Loire, or Nantes, la Vendee, the two Sevres, and the lower Charente, from the Vilaine to the Garonne. That country was already a prey to the ravages of fanaticiſm and perſecution.

He left to the good old man Verteuil, who reſided at Rochelle, the government of the lower Charente, and he charged himſelf with that of the four other departments, re-repairing ſometimes, however, to Rochelle, leſt Verteuil ſhould be embarraſſed during his abſence.

He arrived on the 19th of June, 1791, at Nantes, where he at firſt took up his abode. He there found a department well ſuperintended, an excellent mayor, a ſuperb national militia, but a very numerous, and infernal club, which received him moſt graciouſly, and even preſented him with a civic crown, even before he had deſerved it. He there alſo found the ſecond battalion of the twenty-fifth regiment, that of Poitou. All the officers were actuated by anti-conſti-

tutional principles, except their leader, Drouart de Lezey, a man of talents and a philoſopher.

It had been permitted by an expreſs decree, that the ſoldiers ſhould be allowed to frequent the clubs; and leſt this might produce a ſchiſm between the officers and them, and conſequently a want of ſubordination, he had ſtated in his "military memorial," that the generals ought to prevail upon the officers to go there alſo. It happened preciſely on the 22d of June, that he had carried all the officers along with him to the ſociety, and this proved a very fortunate circumſtance.

On that very night, himſelf and his *aides de-camp*, Lavaſſeur, and Philip de Vaux, being about to retire to bed, after having diſpatched ſome temporary buſineſs, he received a letter from the preſident of the department, beſeeching him to repair to the mint, where all the public bodies were aſſembled, and waiting for him, to deliberate on an important affair, which nearly concerned the ſafety of their common country.

He inſtantly ran thither, very much puzzled

relative

relative to the occaſion of this meſſage; he found four or five thouſand perſons in the ſquare, all in their ſhirts, who appeared to be in the utmoſt conſternation; it was now midnight.

He and his *aides-de-camp* had ſome difficulty to pierce through this crowd; he however at length entered a large hall, where all the public functionaries were aſſembled, ſurrounded by more than 1500 perſons, who ſpoke all together.

Silence being proclaimed, the preſident ſaid to him in a melancholy tone of voice:— "General, the king of France is gone; he has fled."

"If he be gone, the nation ſtill remains. Let us deliberate on what is proper to be done."

Notwithſtanding the calm air Dumouriez aſſumed on purpoſe to make this anſwer, which raiſed the courage of all, no intelligence could have produced a greater conſternation in his mind. It was not more than ſix days ſince he had left Paris, he had ſeen his friend Laporte daily, and he had diſcovered nothing to him relative to ſuch a

deſign. He foreſaw that all the horrours of a civil war were become inevitable. He was obliged however to conceal his fears, and the coolneſs, which he had now diſplayed, procured him general confidence.

He firſt propoſed to publiſh a proclamation, for the purpoſe of calming the minds of the people, and preventing them from delivering themſelves over to that exceſs of rage, which in them generally ſucceeds to affright. He drew up the plan of this proclamation, which was carried into effect. Some hot headed people propoſed to put all the officers under arreſt.

"What, citizens!" replied he, "would you, on a vague ſuſpicion, diſhonour and maltreat the very men whom you ſo recently admitted into your club? I will take the charge of them upon myſelf, and within the ſpace of two hours, you ſhall either be aſſured of their fidelity to their country, or I ſhall diſencumber you of them without violence; leave this to me."

He immediately ſent to awaken Lezay, the commanding officer of the regiment; he informed him of the uneaſineſs of the

people, ordered him to aſſemble the officers in his own apartment, deſcribe to them the critical ſituation to which the nation was reduced, and leave to them the option, either of accompanying him to take an oath of obedience to the nation and the law, or of ſetting off at day-break, with the paſſports which he ſhould provide for them.

In the courſe of three hours afterwards, Lezay arrived at the head of all the officers of his regiment, who, as well as thoſe of the artillery and engineers, took the oath without any difficulty, in preſence of the preſident of the department. He alſo iſſued, or cauſed to be iſſued, freſh orders relative to urgent affairs, and he retired at five o'clock in the morning, more fatigued than he had ever been before, at any one period of his whole life.

On his return home oppreſſed with the moſt profound melancholy, he meditated on what he was to do. He was utterly ignorant of all the circumſtances relative to the king's flight; he knew not whither he had gone, but he ſuppoſed, that he muſt have been aſſured of the ſupport

of part of the army, elſe he could have never dreamed of acting ſuch a bold part. He gave credit to this prince, and thoſe who influenced him, for a better combined plan than that which was adopted; and in conſequence of this ſuppoſition, he already imagined Paris to be beſieged, and ſwimming in blood.

He had inſtantly diſpatched two notes, one to Vieillard, deputy from St. Lô, the other to Barrere; he told them, that without waiting for further orders, he was about to aſſemble as many troops as poſſible, with a deſign to march to the ſuccour of the conſtituent aſſembly; for it was there he now only could look for that country which Louis had abandoned, after having within the laſt fortnight again renewed his oaths, and that too, without being aſked to do ſo.

Vieillard read the note he had received by the courier; it was much applauded, and inſerted in the proceedings. It fortified the courage of the repreſentatives, being the only one of the kind they had received

from a general officer; ſeveral others demanded orders, but that was quite another thing.

He had a battalion of the regiment of Rohan-prince at Sables, two other battalions in la Vendee, at Nantes the regiment of Poitou, at Ancenis the regiment colonel-general of dragoons, and at Niort and Fontenay the ſixth regiment of cavalry; in addition to this he could have produced four thouſand good infantry, well armed, and excellently diſciplined, from the national guards of Nantes, beſide three hundred dragoons, eight four pounders, four twelve pounders, a company of artillery, and many volunteer cannoneers.

He iſſued the neceſſary orders for marching the very next morning, and in the courſe of the day he adopted proper meaſures relative to the protection of the coaſt, and the guarding the mouth of the Loire. He informed general Verteuil, that he was about to ſet out for Paris, but he did not communicate the particulars of his deſign to him, for he was not acquainted with his intentions,

intentions, and civil wars are always attended with this untoward circumſtance, that they inſpire a neceſſary jealouſy.

He was thus ready to commence his march at the head of about eight thouſand troops, well aſſured of increaſing the number at Angers, and Mans. He however concealed his project until the very moment he was about to carry it into execution, and he affected a ſtill calmer air than that which he had aſſumed during the preceding night. He aſſiſted at the proceſſion on *corpus chriſti* day, and ſeized that occaſion to inſpect the troops narrowly. Happily, in the courſe of the ſucceeding night, another courier arrived, and announced that the king had been overtaken, and brought back to Paris.

The violent agitation which he had experienced on learning the firſt intelligence, had too much abſorbed all his faculties, to leave him time to obſerve the effect it had produced on the people; he however in general remarked, that after the firſt moments of conſternation had elapſed, they were elevated to a violent rage, whence

they had returned to that ſullen and fierce diſpoſition, which announced a fixed determination to defend their liberty, without entering into any argument reſpecting the choice of a future government.

Become entirely calm, in conſequence of the news brought by the ſecond courier, Dumouriez was henceforth a more attentive obſerver. He perceived with chagrin, that it produced rather a diſagreeable than a conſolatory ſenſation. The *ariſtocrats*, who were very numerous at Nantes, appeared to be in a ſtate of ſtupefaction, and the *democrats*, whoſe ideas were already beginning to wander after novelties, appeared not only to be very indifferent, but even very much diſcontented, at the re-appearance of a king, whom, during two whole days, they had treated as a perfidious man, and whoſe name was only mentioned to excite vengeance. From this moment the unfortunate Louis entirely loſt that remnant of love, or of pity, which the people in the provinces had until then cheriſhed for him.

The conduct of the conſtituent aſſembly was

was noble, grand, and generous. They not only ſaved the royal family from the imminent danger to which it would have been expoſed by the fury of the people, but, after a neceſſary interval to reſtore tranquillity, they re-eſtabliſhed the king in all his rights, and re-inveſted him with all his former dignity.

Dumouriez hoped, that the ſenſibility of this prince and his court would be affected by ſuch a proceeding; that they would reflect on their ſituation, and the impoſſibility of any longer oppoſing the conſtitution; that they would remember, that the ſafety of the king depended on his fulfilling his functions with exactneſs in order to regain the confidence of the nation; that they would contemplate the immenſe career which was opened for his goodneſs, and even for his glory, were he to attach himſelf heartily to the conſtitution; and the certainty of his ruin, and that of his auguſt houſe, of the monarchy, and of all France, if he relapſed into his former conduct. He was perſuaded, that the terrible fault committed by Louis after having twice perjured himſelf would

ſerve as a leſſon to him; that his heart would be melted with the generoſity of the French, who had reſtored to him a crown, which he had forfeited by the letter and ſpirit of that very conſtitution which he himſelf had ſworn to obey; that he would look upon this event as a ſpecies of happineſs, which would at length unite the minds of all men, and cauſe firſt confidence and good faith, and afterwards love and order, to ſucceed to the intrigues, the conſpiracies, the hatred, and the diſcord, which had reigned until then.

Replete with this reaſonable expectation, which would not have been diſappointed, had each faction, laying even patriotiſm aſide, conſulted its true intereſts, he reſumed his correſpondence with the unfortunate Laporte. He had trembled for the life of this virtuous friend, who had been ſacrificed by his maſter on his departure, as he had charged him to preſent his proteſt to the conſtituent aſſembly. This faithful ſervant diſcharged the office impoſed upon him with an heroic reſignation, perfectly aware of the extent of his danger; for he

has

has ſince acknowledged to his friend, that he did not expect to be permitted to live.

Alas! he was deſtined to be one of the firſt victims of the proceſs which followed the fatal 12th of Auguſt 1792, and to precede by a few months his unfortunate maſter, who did not ſufficiently lament him.

Laporte informed him that tranquillity was about to be reſtored, and Dumouriez deemed it his duty to employ the firſt moments he could ſpare from his other avocations in drawing up a memorial, which he afterwards tranſmitted to him from Niort, relative to the conduct which the king ought now to purſue,

1. With his own family, the miniſters, and all thoſe diſcontented with the new conſtitution;

2. With the national aſſembly;

3. With the clergy;

4. With foreign powers;

5. With the French nation;

6. With the navy and army;

7. In reſpect to appointments;

And, 8. Relative to the employment of the civil liſt.

This

body ſighed for that moment when it was to be replaced by another. Aſhamed of itſelf, it aſpired only to retire. Its laſt proceedings partook of its dejection; and it was very glad, in the month of October, to give place to the firſt legiſlature, which aſſumed the name of the National Aſſembly.

This was moſt horribly compoſed. Louis, who was badly adviſed, had not repaired by means of a frank conduct the fatal impreſſion produced by his flight; on the contrary, his proceedings, and thoſe of his court, augmented the diſtruſt of the people.

It was preciſely at this epoch, that the Jacobins began to engroſs that influence, which afterwards produced a complete anarchy. This ſociety, extending every where its numerous affiliations, made uſe of the provincial clubs to render itſelf maſter of the elections. All the hot-headed men, all the ſeditious ſcribblers, all the agitators, were nominated to repreſent the nation, and to defend, as they ſaid, "its intereſts againſt a perfidious court." Very few ſage or enlightened perſons, and a ſtill leſs number of nobles, were choſen; and the national aſ-

ſembly,

ſembly, thus compoſed, met armed with prejudices and hoſtile intentions againſt the unfortunate Louis and his court.

It began by adoring the conſtitution, on purpoſe to eſtabliſh its own authority; but the republicans were already at work in ſecret, and ſpread abroad their opinions in incendiary papers, which were multiplied in an aſtoniſhing degree.

It was this ſame aſſembly that, taking advantage in 1792 of the cataſtrophe of the 12th of Auguſt, which it had prepared, erected itſelf into a national convention, after having driven from its boſom ſome of its more enlightened members, and reinforced itſelf with villains and fools.

This aſſembly it was that made the king and queen periſh on a ſcaffold; that immolated its moſt ardent ſupporters, ſuch as Briſſot, Vergniaux, &c.; that ſtill reigns in France, ſurrounded by corpſes and ruins. The guillotine is its throne, irreligion and anarchy its engines, and the French nation languiſhes in the moſt ſhameful and criminal ſlavery.

After having exhibited this rapid ſketch of general events, it is time to return to

what was paſſing at Nantes. Dumouriez had preſerved all his military diſpoſitions; and did not permit his authority to be invaded. He laboured confidentially with the adminiſtrative bodies, which were very prudent and ſagacious, and concealed none of his meaſures from them. He did not act in the ſame manner with regard to the club at Nantes. This ſociety affected to intermeddle in all the branches of government, under pretence of vigilance and inſpection in regard to its agents. It was directed by a very dangerous man, called Couſtard; he was a gentleman of Britanny, a knight of St. Louis, had been formerly a lieutenant of the marſhals of France, and was then the commanding officer of the national guard. He was afterwards elected a member of the convention; and having attached himſelf to the *girondiſts*, he at length periſhed by means of the guillotine.

He had acquired a great aſcendancy over the populace, who were very numerous in this great town. He was dreaded by all good people, and had formed around him a kind of pretorian guard, conſiſting of a company

company of fencing-maſters and butchers. In the courſe of the preceding year he had firſt driven the duke de Maille, *commandant-general* of the province, from Nantes, and afterwards the regiment of *Rohan-prince*, whoſe colonel, the brave d'Herviily, he had endeavoured to get aſſaſſinated.

This factious leader was ſhocked at perceiving his credit eclipſed by a general officer, who could neither be reproached with the ſlighteſt *ariſtocracy*, nor with an outrageous *democracy*. He was the ſworn enemy of the nobility and the clergy; the general protected both, and had ſeveral opportunities to put a ſtop to the exceſſes of the people, by ſometimes employing the battalion of Poitou, on which he could depend, and ſometimes the ſound part of the national guard, which in general was compoſed of good citizens. Couſtard courted Dumouriez, who, however, watched him cloſely, reſtrained his criminal conduct, and yet did not appear to diſtruſt him.

He went but ſeldom to the club, which, however, ſent a deputation to him to requeſt permiſſion to employ commiſſioners

to

to inſpect the cannon-founderies eſtabliſhed in the iſle of Hindret, a league diſtant from Nantes, which were under the direction of lieutenant-colonel Thouvenot, a man of merit, whoſe name will often occur in the courſe of theſe memoirs; and alſo to viſit the old batteries along the coaſts.

He told them in reply, that as citizens they might walk wherever they were not prevented by the want of a counter-ſign, which precluded all thoſe not duly authoriſed; that they poſſeſſed no title which could authoriſe him to permit them to exerciſe functions that were already occupied; that there was neither any external danger, nor any fear of a maritime war; that they ought to remain tranquil; and, above all things, ſhould diſtruſt thoſe ſeditious men, who endeavoured to inſpire thoſe ridiculous ſuſpicions on purpoſe to produce anarchy.

His anſwer excited the utmoſt diſcontent; but the occurrences in La Vendee for ſome time ſuſpended this quarrel. That department was agitated by the furies of perſecution and fanaticiſm. The nobility were very unquiet, the prieſts very much irritated, and

the *democrats* very intolerant. The cauſe of religion had excited an inſurrection there about a month before the arrival of the general. The national guard had marched againſt the *ariſtocrats*, and a ſkirmiſh had taken place near a village called St. Clement. The troops of the line and the armed citizens prevailed, ſo that this firſt effort proved abortive. Part of the nobility of Poitou ſerved in the navy; the greater number of theſe had taken refuge in Jerſey; the remainder were in a ſtate of tranquillity.

The intelligence of the king's flight had induced this party to reſume their courage. An old gentleman, in other points very reſpectable, had aſſembled firſt at Luçon, and afterwards at his caſtle near Talmont, a great number of nobles; they conceived the project of rendering themſelves maſters of the port *des Sables d'Olonne*, where they might eaſily be joined by the emigrants of Jerſey, who were to furniſh them with arms and ammunition.

The king's return rendered all their meaſures vain, but their aſſemblies had alarmed the department of la Vendée, where the

democratic party was not very ſtrong. The adminiſtrators wrote to thoſe at Nantes, demanding immediate ſuccour. The general ſet off with eight hundred infantry of the national guard, a hundred dragoons of the regiment of *colonel-general*, the company of grenadiers, a detachment of the regiment of Poitou, and four field pieces, and he himſelf repaired to Machecoul, on purpoſe to diſſipate this commotion, and prevent the two parties from coming to blows.

He there learned that the diſtrict of Sables had at the ſame time ſent two hundred and fifty men of the regiment of Rohan-Soubiſe, with eight or nine hundred national guards, and armed peaſants; that this party had marched againſt the caſtle of Mr. de la Lezardière; that the meeting, which conſiſted of about fifty gentlemen, and one hundred and twenty royaliſt peaſants, had diſperſed at the approach of this little army, which had pillaged and burnt the caſtle, and committed all the exceſſes to be expected from a troop badly conducted, and deſtitute of diſcipline.

On receiving intelligence of the march of the

the army of Sables, he had diſpatched the chevalier de Lorencin, a captain of dragoons, at the head of fifty cavalry at full gallop, with orders to adopt every poſſible means of conciliation, and to prevent pillage and exceſs. Lorencin however arrived too late, and the general, who was much chagrined at this adventure, carried back his detachment to Nantes, being reſolved in a ſhort time to pay a viſit to la Vendée, in order to keep both parties in awe, and prevent a civil war.

On his return, the ſociety became more arrogant in its pretenſions, and more intractable than ever in reſpect to its conduct. A falſe alarm was circulated by expreſs. The jacobins of Sables, and thoſe of Pimbeuf, ſent word, that they had diſcovered frigates cruizing along that coaſt, and that a ſhallop had landed ſeveral armed men near the iſle of Bouin.

The club ſpread the alarm throughout Nantes, and aſſerted it was an Engliſh ſquadron. The adminiſtrators, although they gave no credit to this intelligence, were yet obliged to mention it to the gene-

ral, who on the firſt rumour had ſent ſome officers to the ſpot, with orders to take down in writing ſuch information as they could obtain from the municipalities. They ſoon returned with the moſt ſatisfactory evidence of the falſehood of the report. On being provided with the proper proofs, he repaired to the ſociety, and as uſual cautioned them againſt the fabricators of falſe alarms, who wiſhed to produce anarchy and diſcord. They obſerved in reply, that the people were deſirous that he ſhould put all the batteries on the coaſt in a ſtate of defence, and that then their uneaſineſs would entirely ceaſe.

He objected to this, that he could not carry ſuch a meaſure into execution without money, and without orders; that he had neither cannoneers nor troops to man the batteries, and that the guard houſes and the powder magazines on the coaſt were uninhabitable: he deſired them to deliver in their demands in writing, and promiſed that he would inſtantly tranſmit them to the miniſter at war, whom he in the mean time informed, that in order to avoid a greater

inconvenience it would be proper to repair the batteries at the port of Croiſic, at St. Nazaire, about a league below Nantes, Pimbeuf, and the port of Sables. Accordingly Duportail, who was then miniſter, had the good ſenſe to tranſmit orders for carrying theſe regulations into effect: the four batteries remained however during the whole ſummer, without any body to guard them. The guns were thus conſtantly expoſed to be ſpiked by the firſt rogue who choſe to do ſo, until the organization of five battalions of national guards, which he received orders to levy in autumn, one in each department.

This *half-meaſure* on the part of the general, did not give much ſatisfaction to the ſociety. His mild and conciliatory conduct in reſpect to the prieſts, and the nobles, whom he daily protected from the fury of the *clubbiſts*, contributed not a little to inflame them ſtill more againſt him. As he received intelligence that the inhabitants of la Vendée meditated a revolt, as he really had buſineſs of great conſequence to tranſact in la Vendée, and as it was neceſſary for him to concert meaſures with general Ver-

teuil, whom he had not yet ſeen, as alſo to inſpect the troops of his diviſion and to cauſe his authority to be recognized in the other departments, he ſet out from Nantes in the month of July.

Couſtard in the mean time being elected a deputy, the club became more calm, and when the general returned in the courſe of the autumn, to levy the battalion of the lower Loire, he was greatly careſſed, and repeatedly preſſed to ſettle there; but it was then too late, as he had made other arrangements relative to his winter-quarters in a more central point of his very extenſive command, and nearer to his lieutenant-general, who often ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance.

On his leaving Nantes, two very contradictory opinions prevailed reſpecting him. The jacobins looked upon him as a concealed *ariſtocrat*; the nobles as a violent *democrat*. Equally in oppoſition to the two factions, and meriting neither of theſe denominations, he had conducted himſelf according to the ſuggeſtions of a ſincere patriotiſm; he was deſirous of a monarchy and a conſtitution,

a conſtitution, and he would moſt willingly have ſacrificed himſelf for the law and the king, provided the one was not ſeparated from the other. In reſpect to a republic, he found France too extenſive, too rich, too relaxed in point of morals, to ſuppoſe that this ſpecies of government would prove congenial; and he regarded ſuch a meaſure as a misfortune, and the ſource of a ſanguinary anarchy. His opinion has never varied; he ſtill thinks, even ſuppoſing the greateſt ſucceſs to attend the French republic, and this ſucceſs to be followed by the moſt triumphant peace, that ſuch a ſyſtem can not endure.

He repaired firſt to Rochelle, where he ſpent a few days with his reſpectable general, who ſoon became his friend. He afterwards reſided at Fontenay-le-*comte*, or *le-people*, the capital of la Vendée. He had no other troops there than a ſingle ſquadron, conſiſting of about one hundred and thirty men of the ſixteenth regiment of cavalry, commanded by a very prudent officer called Dille. In that place he ſtudied the manners of this part of Poitou, and inveſtigated the

cauſes of the frightful diſcord that prevailed throughout the province.

The conſtituent aſſembly had at firſt been joined by all the *petty* clergy, who acquired, in conſequence of the revolution, an additional conſideration, and a more happy lot. But ſoon after, by the moſt childiſh imprudence, it had ſubjected the clergy to an oath, by which they were to ſubmit to all the conſtitutional decrees, *then, or afterwards to be enacted.* This oath was equally abſurd and unjuſt. It rendered all who poſſeſſed either ſhame or conſcience hoſtile. The prieſts the moſt attached to liberty renounced their benefices. The *ariſtocrats* and the *dignified* clergy took advantage of this deſertion, to brandiſh the torch of fanaticiſm. Inſtead of repealing this obnoxious law, the legiſlators conſidered only how they could beſt ſupport it, and the jacobins, enchanted at an opportunity of committing exceſſes with impunity, commenced a cruel perſecution. The *lower* clergy of Poitou were reſpectable men. Irreproachable manners, more virtues than knowledge, and a patriarchal ſimplicity, had procured to them paternal authority

thority in their reſpective pariſhes. Their livings were filled up by apoſtate monks, and prieſts equally deſtitute of character and morals.

The peaſant of Poitou is naturally good, ſimple, unenlightened, extremely religious, and even ſuperſtitious. The greater part of the villages refuſed theſe new paſtors, concealed their venerable prieſts, and ſoon began to aſſemble in the woods, to receive ſpiritual aſſiſtance, while in the pariſh churches divine ſervice was performed to empty pews, with the aſſiſtance of fixed bayonets.

Theſe aſſemblies, although the pretext, and even the real motive of the greater number, was religion alone, occaſioned great uneaſineſs on the part of the adminiſtrative bodies; this was ſometimes well founded, becauſe the *ariſtocrats* might make uſe of them as a cover for the moſt dangerous deſigns.

The general was ſolicited to ſend detachments to diſperſe them. He procured information relative to all the prieſts concealed in the department, and all the nobles who

inhabited

inhabited it; this afforded him an opportunity of diſſipating two or three of theſe meetings, and of ſecretly protecting the others, by cauſing prudent advice to be given to the honeſt prieſts, who were very numerous.

When the adminiſtrators communicated their fears to him relative to a meeting which he knew to be innocent, he got on horſeback along with his *aides-de-camps*, repaired thither without any eſcort, and returned, followed with the bleſſings of theſe good people.

During the whole time he reſided in la Vendée, he never fired a ſingle muſket, and only impriſoned two ſeditious prieſts. The club at Nantes anticipated the decree for ſending them to jail, and forced the department to ſhut up a great number of them, who were not afterwards releaſed without the greateſt difficulty.

The legiſlators, previouſly to the adoption of ſo violent a meaſure, ſent commiſſioners into ſeveral departments, with a deſign to procure information. The two ſelected for la Vendée were Genſonné, an advocate of

Bourdeaux, and Gallois, a man of letters, belonging to Paris. They were both replete with genius, wiſdom, and moderation. The general accompanied them for the ſpace of a month throughout the department, and preſented them with a memorial containing his own obſervations. Genſonné was elected a member of the national aſſembly, and that circumſtance proved his ruin; he was inſtructed to deliver in an account of this miſſion. He engrafted the whole of Dumouriez memorial on his own report, but he dared not to inſert the plan of the decree drawn up by that general, containing a modification of the oath. His report did not contain any concluſions whatever. It however included an eulogium on the general, who ſucceeded in pacifying the country.

This ſame department has ſince become the *focus* of a barbarous civil war; it is now only a heap of aſhes, and of ruins, although the inhabitants merit a far better fate. One man endowed with ſagacity might have eaſily preſerved tranquillity throughout the whole of this country, which the general quitted with regret.

During

During the winter he fixed his abode at Niort, the capital of the department of the two Sêvres. The inhabitants were good people; he was beloved by them, and he poſſeſſed very agreeable apartments in the caſtle.

There was a club here, but it was leſs fiery than that at Nantes; he was preſident of it during a month, and he repeated the experiment on this ſociety, which he had formerly made on the academy of Cherbourg. He prevailed on the members to occupy their time in uſeful matters, ſuch as the plans of new roads and canals, the refining of gunpowder, the manufacture of ſaltpetre, and the formation of charitable eſtabliſhments. Theſe uſeful occupations prevented them from delivering themſelves over to that impetuoſity which rendered the other ſocieties ſo dangerous. He thus ſpent the concluſion of the year 1791, and the month of January of the ſucceeding year, amidſt the pleaſures of ſtudy and of friendſhip. This was the ſole period ſince the fatal epoch of the revolution, during which he enjoyed tranquillity.

The

The town of Niort invited him to inſcribe his name in the regiſter of its citizens. Oh, good people of Niort! whatever at preſent may be your opinion in reſpect to general Dumouriez, he ſtill eſteems you as the fellow-citizens of his adoption! all his wiſhes are directed towards your welfare! May your errors, and the evils that have reſulted from them, ſoon ceaſe! May your virtues, which are only obſcured, burſt forth with redoubled luſtre! You are worthy of happineſs and of liberty; it is the abuſe of the one that has deſtroyed the other! You are leſs culpable than any other corner of France, and yet a civil war has rendered you the moſt miſerable of Frenchmen. Oh! how happy will it render him to learn before his death, that happineſs and wiſdom have once more made Niort the place of their abode!

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Dumouriez Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

It was decreed that Dumouriez ſhould exchange this calm, and, if not happy, at leaſt tranquil ſituation, for the moſt boiſterous and ſtormy reverſe. The emigration of general officers had been ſo prevalent, that in the month of January 1792, he became a lieutenant-general by ſeniority, and this neceſſarily detached him from the twelfth diviſion.

A war was already ſpoken of, and preparations were made accordingly. Narbonne had taken a tour along the frontiers, to iſſue orders for putting them into a ſtate of defence. Three armies had been formed. That of the north, commanded by the marſhal de Rochambeau, that of Alſace by marſhal Luckner (they were now both decorated with the dignity of

of marſhal), and that of the centre by Lafayette, who had been recalled from his eſtate, whither he had retired after having loſt his popularity in the capital, through the influence of the jacobins.

Dumouriez received orders from the miniſter at war to return to Paris. Some of his friends at the ſame time ſolicited Leſſart, then at the head of the foreign department, to demand that he ſhould repair thither; they wiſhed that he ſhould give him ſome advice, of which he ſtood greatly in need, becauſe his talents did not reach above mediocrity, and the feebleneſs of his negotiations had embroiled the exterior ſo much, as to throw him into inextricable embarraſſments.

He now enjoyed the pleaſure of again ſeeing his unfortunate friend Laporte, whom he conjured to reſign. This ſacrifice might perhaps have ſaved him. The new aſſembly, excepting the members of the departments where he had reſided, and ſome of the old legiſlators, was entirely unknown to Dumouriez. It was two months without doing much good, being employed merely

merely in *feeling the pulſe* of public affairs, and this circumſtance unfortunately lulled the court into a fatal ſecurity. The miniſters quarrelled with one another, as in former times. Narbonne, who preſided in the war department, was the declared enemy of Bertrand, then at the head of the marine, who openly affected ariſtocracy. The court leaned toward the latter, and Narbonne was ſupported by Briſſot, Condorcet, and the *Gironde*, who, although but juſt arrived, had already acquired a preponderance by the ſuperiority of its orators.

Genſonné, ever ſince his return from la Vendée, had panegyriſed general Dumouriez to this party, and wiſhed to ſee him, either at the head of an army, or a miniſter. Leſſart affected to aſk his advice, but Lameth, Duport, Beaume, and ſeveral others of the former legiſlators, who ſeemed only to remain in Paris, on purpoſe to turn the new aſſembly into ridicule, poſſeſſed the whole of his confidence. They were the leaders of the *Feuillans*, who formed an oppoſition in the aſſembly, and out of the aſſembly aided the

the king's party againſt the jacobins. Dumouriez at this period, and indeed ever ſince the laſt year, had conſtantly ſaid to his friend Laporte: " If I were king, I would become a jacobin, on purpoſe to get the better of all parties." He has often reflected on this circumſtance, and he is ſtill of opinion, that it would have been the beſt counſel which Louis XVI could have followed, for from that moment the tone of that ſociety would have been entirely altered.

Narbonne received Dumouriez very graciouſly, and announced to him, that he was to be employed under Luckner, in the army of Alſace, and to command the diviſion of Beſançon. He accepted of this appointment, but at the ſame time lamented, that at a moment when, according to appearance, a war was on the eve of taking place, and was likely to become general, the ſouth ſhould have been neglected, although France might be unexpectedly attacked in that quarter; he added that he deemed it neceſſary to form a plan of defence, and to employ a commander in chief, and an army there.

Narbonne approved of this idea; and Du-

mouriez being charged with the neceſſary arrangements, ſhut himſelf up during three days with a clerk at the war office, and then produced his plan to the miniſter. It was his wiſh to be appointed the general of this army, which he regarded as a laſt reſource; for he ſuſpected, that this legiſlature would not be able to ſupport itſelf againſt that ſcorn with which it was then overwhelmed, and dreaded leſt the nation, cheated and betrayed, ſhould have recourſe to a civil war; he did not conceal his opinion from Genſonné, and ſeveral other members of the Gironde, with whom Genſonné had made him acquainted. They evinced ſimilar fears to him, and ſupported his pretenſions with all their influence. Scarcely however had he delivered in his plan to Narbonne, when that miniſter, and his antagoniſt Bertrand, were both diſmiſſed.

Degraves ſucceeded to Narbonne; he was attached to the conſtitution, young, deſtitute of experience, and inadequate to his ſituation both on account of the ſtate of his health, and his timidity in public affairs. Dumouriez tranſmitted to the new miniſter

miniſter a copy of his plan of defence for the ſouth, and it was reſolved, that he ſhould be appointed commander in chief of a fourth army. He frequently ſaw Leſſart, who was often adviſed by Laporte to follow his advice. They had all three ſtudied together, but Leſſart had never cultivated an intimacy with the two friends.

Dumouriez learned daily from the Gironde, ſome members of which were in the diplomatic committee, that this committee, and eſpecially Briſſot, who was the leader of it, were exceedingly diſcontented with Leſſart's negotiations, particularly thoſe with the court of Vienna, and that that court embraced the opportunity thereby afforded, of returning replies which groſsly inſulted the nation.

On this he waited upon Leſſart, and communicated his danger to him. That miniſter, baſking in an ideal ſecurity, told him in reply, that the negotiation was in a proſperous train, and by way of proving it produced the copies of his diſpatches to Mr. de Noailles, ambaſſador from France to the emperor, the anſwers of that miniſter,

niſter, a note which he had cauſed to be preſented to the prince de Kaunitz, and the reply to the ſame. The laſt of theſe was conceived in terms diſguſtfully haughty; it conſiſted of a libel on the jacobins, and a formal refuſal to regard the king as free.

The aſtoniſhment of Dumouriez could only be equalled by the tranquillity of Leſſart. "Has the diplomatic committee any knowledge of theſe papers?" ſaid the former.

"Yes, they have copies of them all."

"In that caſe you are ruined if you do not go and withdraw them inſtantly, preſent an anſwer conceived in a firm, and determined tone to the writing of Mr. de Kaunitz, and promiſe always to negotiate hereafter in the ſame ſtyle."

Leſſart was not convinced. The dupe of the *Feuillans*, he thought himſelf ſure of being ſupported by a great party in the aſſembly. The fall of Narbonne was a check which Briſſot's friends had lately received, and he doubted not but he ſhould be able to triumph in caſe of an attack. On leaving him, Dumouriez went and told Laporte,

Laporte, that he conſidered Leſſart as undone.

On the very next day Briſſot denounced Leſſart, and ſtated a variety of accuſations againſt him. He then demanded that this miniſter ſhould be deſired to appear before, and read to the aſſembly, the particulars of this negotiation with the court of Vienna, which, after an attentive examination, he deemed highly culpable. This happened to be on a Thurſday, the day on which the foreign ambaſſadours dined with the miniſter. Dumouriez was invited to be of the party. Leſſart went to the aſſembly in the courſe of the forenoon, and when he read the papers, murmurs of diſapprobation were heard every where, even on the *right hand ſide* *. The papers were ordered to be printed, and the committee was enjoined to make a report upon them.

Leſſart, conſidering the printing of the papers as an auſpicious circumſtance, ap-

* The *Feuillans*, who founded the conſtitution in the former aſſembly, and ſupported the royal authority in this, were accuſtomed to ſit on the preſident's *right* hand.—*Tranſ.*

peared to be very well ſatisfied. The foreign miniſters, who are always crafty, loaded him with compliments; but Dumouriez ſpoke to him in private, and ſaid: "In God's name make haſte to do what I before told you; it is perhaps not yet too late." He continued in a ſtate of blind ſecurity. Two days afterwards, in conſequence of the report of the terrible Briſſot, who was never more happy than when he was employed in doing an ill office, the aſſembly paſſed a decree for arreſting him, and the unfortunate Leſſart was ſent to Orleans, whence he was only brought back to be murdered along with the other priſoners at Verſailles, in the month of September of that ſame year.

Dumouriez at this time was confined to his chamber by a ſevere cold; in the courſe of the ſucceeding night, which was either the 9th or 10th of March, the miniſter at war called upon and informed him, that the king had appointed him miniſter for foreign affairs, but on this condition, that he ſhould accept of it only *ad interim*, becauſe, as Leſſart was to be tried immediately,

diately, and not being criminal, he would ſoon return from Orleans, and re-aſſume his functions.

He replied, that he neither wiſhed to be miniſter *ad interim*, nor *ſine interim*, and that he would prefer the command which had been promiſed him. Degraves inſiſted on his acceptance, and Dumouriez perſiſted in his refuſal.

Louis XVI, ever ſince the revolution, had been accuſtomed to charge the oldeſt member of the council with the care of propoſing proper perſons to fill up the vacancies; and Degraves, who had been in adminiſtration only ten days, was already in that ſituation. He was connected with Petion; and the Gironde and Genſonné had prevailed on the diplomatic committee to influence his choice. The connections that had ſubſiſted between Dumouriez and the count de Broglio and Favier, the diplomatic memorial which he had read to the jacobins, of which a new edition had juſt made its appearance, and his prudent conduct in the department of la Vendée, had induced the majority of the members of the aſſembly to deſire he might

be appointed to this office. Degraves had accordingly mentioned him to the king, and the king to Laporte, who adviſed his majeſty to give his aſſent.

On the following day Cahier de Gerville, miniſter of the home department, a man of a pure and enlightened civiſm, and one in whom the king placed a juſt confidence, waited upon him from his majeſty with an intention to prevail upon him to accept of the appointment. He begged him to make his excuſes to the king, and to tell him that, independently of his thinking himſelf better fitted for a military life, he would never accept of that place *ad interim*.

"Our affairs," continued he, "have already aſſumed but too unfavourable an aſpect in foreign countries, for their courts to treat with a *temporary* miniſter; beſides, a *temporary* appointment is an incautious proceeding, againſt which the national aſſembly will proteſt. In addition to all this, the king himſelf will be injured by it, as it will ſeem to indicate that he thinks the decree againſt his late miniſter unjuſt, or at leaſt haſty. Thus, far from reſtoring Leſſart to his former ſituation,

ſituation, it would infallibly prove his ruin." He added, " That he himſelf was of opinion that the arreſt was precipitate, becauſe, in conformity to the judicial proceedings of a free people, they ought to have commenced with a decree of accuſation, and heard Leſſart previouſly to his confinement; a circumſtance which prejudged his ſuppoſed crimes." This, however, was an additional motive to induce him to deſire, that the king would nominate another perſon to fulfil ſuch dangerous functions.

Cahier de Gerville returned to Louis, and re-appeared ſoon after with orders to accept the place *ſine interim*. He then complied out of pure obedience, hoping to become more uſeful to his country and his king, and regretting much that he was obliged to abandon the command of the ſouthern army, which was conferred on Monteſquiou, who proved worthy of it, and who would have filled with credit any ſtation that could have been conferred upon him, being a real ſtateſman.

He entered into adminiſtration on the morning of the 15th of March, and was preſented to the king. He aſſiſted at the council

council in the evening without a *portfolio*, having no buſineſs prepared, and made himſelf acquainted with the forms. This council was compoſed of only three miniſters, Degraves, Cahier de Gerville, and Dumouriez. Duport-Dutertre had given in his reſignation, and appeared no longer at the board. The marine and finance departments were vacant.

Next day the king granted Dumouriez a private audience in conformity to his demand. The world is much deceived in reſpect to the character of this prince, who has been deſcribed as a violent and choleric man, who ſwore frequently, and was accuſtomed to treat his miniſters with much roughneſs. Dumouriez, on the contrary, ought to do him juſtice by obſerving, that during the three months he was accuſtomed to ſee him, and that too in very difficult ſituations, he always found him polite, mild, affable, and even very patient.

This prince evinced a great timidity, which proceeded from his education and his diſtruſt of himſelf; he had a difficulty in ſpeaking, poſſeſſed a moderate but correct judgment,

judgment, a pure heart, and much knowledge relative to the arts, hiſtory, and, more eſpecially, geography: in addition to all this, he was gifted with an aſtoniſhing memory. He was weak in point of character, and yet he ſhewed great firmneſs, or what may be better termed great reſignation. At this period he often mentioned his death to Dumouriez, as an event which he anticipated, and he ſpoke of it with the utmoſt coolneſs.

Every body recollects what occurred on that day when he was inſulted by Santerre and the populace of Paris, on which occaſion they placed the *red bonnet* on his head. He laid hold of the hand of a grenadier belonging to the national guards, and placing it on his breaſt, he ſaid to him, "Feel if my heart beats ſtronger than uſual." He was good, and yet he was but little ſuſceptible of regret, and ſtill leſs of attachment, except for the queen. On the whole he was a very good prince; and had he been better educated, would have become one of our beſt kings.

Dumouriez accoſted him in the following manner: "Your order, ſire, to accept the place

place which I had before refuſed, perſuades me that your majeſty no longer entertains any prejudices againſt me."

" Moſt certainly."

" Then, ſire, I ſhall devote myſelf to your ſervice; but the ſituation of a miniſter is no longer the ſame as heretofore; without ceaſing to be the zealous ſervant of your majeſty, I am the man of the nation. I ſhall always addreſs you in the language of liberty and the conſtitution; wholly occupied with my functions, I ſhall not often have an opportunity of paying my court to you; and in this particular I ſhall wave all manner of ceremony, the better to ſerve you. I ſhall not tranſact buſineſs but with yourſelf, or at the council board.

" Nearly all thoſe entruſted by you with diplomatic functions are in a ſtate of open *counter revolution*. I am preſſed to propoſe a change to you. I ſhall perhaps hurt your feelings in the choice of their ſucceſſors; I ſhall mention candidates, ſome of whom you are unacquainted with, and others whoſe names will diſpleaſe you. When your repugnance may be too ſtrong and well founded, as you are the

the maſter, I will obey; but if your choice be ſuggeſted by thoſe who ſurround you, and is viſibly calculated to do you hurt, in that caſe I ſupplicate you either to follow my opinion, or to appoint me a ſucceſſor.

" Think of the many and terrible dangers that beſiege your throne. It is neceſſary to ſupport it by means of the public confidence; this is a conqueſt yet to be achieved, ſire, and it entirely depends upon you. I have this morning drawn up the plan of four important diſpatches; I ſhall preſent them at the firſt council. They do not reſemble, either in the principles or the ſtyle, thoſe of my predeceſſors, becauſe theſe matters ought to be entirely directed by circumſtances. If my labours are agreeable to you, I ſhall continue them; if not, my camp equipage will always be kept in readineſs, in order to ſerve my country and you in the army; that is my real element, and the great object of all my thoughts for theſe laſt thirty-ſix years."

The king, much aſtoniſhed at this diſcourſe, kindly replied, " I like your frankneſs; I know you to be attached to me; I wiſh

wiſh for the conſtitution, and I hope that I ſhall be well pleaſed with your labours." A great many things had been ſaid to me againſt you.

Louis then ſpoke to him about what had occurred in Normandy; and after an explanation of the facts, he appeared to be ſatisfied.

On his leaving the cabinet immediately after the king, who went to maſs, all the courtiers avoided him, as if he had been affected with the plague, except two or three with whom he had been long acquainted. The marſhal de Noailles, the duke de Nivernois, and the unfortunate duke de Briſſac, aſſured him of their friendſhip.

Next day he preſented to the council four memorials intended for the courts of Madrid, Vienna, Berlin, and St. James's. They contained the principles on which he wiſhed them to be hereafter negotiated with; and each of the ambaſſadours ſtationed there, inſtead of garbling their diſpatches, had orders henceforth to communicate the whole, and even to preſent a copy to the department for foreign affairs.

The miniſter in all theſe papers ſpoke in the

the king's name, but directly in the ſenſe preſcribed by the conſtitution, without menace, and without timidity. He diſcuſſed the true intereſts of each of theſe powers relative to the French revolution; and as all of them complained of the ſcandalous pamphlets publiſhed by the jacobins, he attributed theſe injuries, which at the bottom were deſpicable, to the indefinite liberty of the preſs during a revolutionary period.

He moreover quoted the example of the Engliſh, who even in the moſt tranquil times ſpeak of courts and nations with an injurious licence, not only in their numerous newſpapers, but often in their parliament, and even in the houſe of peers. He obſerved that no power had ever dreamed of declaring war againſt Great Britain, or of ſequeſtering that country from the grand political body on account of theſe trifling occurrences, for which, as they proceeded neither from the government nor the nation, theſe could not be reſponſible. He concluded by demanding peace in the name of a free people, of whom the king was the hereditary repreſentative.

The diſpatches gave great ſatisfaction to the king, who ſaid, "The like of theſe have never been preſented to me before." Cahier de Gerville replied: "Sire, this is the manner in which miniſters ought always to ſpeak and write in your majeſty's name." The couriers were all ready, and the diſpatches were ſent off that very night.

It was at this council that Degraves propoſed four new miniſters; for, notwithſtanding the intreaties of the king and thoſe of his two colleagues, Cahier de Gerville inſiſted on retiring, his health being indeed in a very precarious ſtate. The king confirmed his choice. Here follows the manner in which it was made. Degraves, as has been already ſaid, being the ſenior member of the council, was charged to preſent to his majeſty a liſt of thoſe whom he deemed moſt proper to become miniſters. He knew but very few, and Dumouriez ſtill fewer; they were ſcarce: the greater number of thoſe, whom either would have choſen, were emigrants or decided counter-revolutioniſts; and in reſpect to the new men, whom the revolution

tion might have produced, they had far too little knowledge of them to be able to make a proper ſelection.

Petion and Roederer were at the head, the one of the municipality, the other of the department of Paris. Theſe two men, as alſo Briſſot, Condorcet, and ſome of the members for Paris, appeared to be the beſt calculated to give them the neceſſary information. They accordingly conſulted them. Their choice was alſo greatly circumſcribed by the decree of the conſtituent aſſembly, enacting that none of its members ſhould occupy any public employment until the expiration of two years after the diſmiſſion of that legiſlature. Had it not been for this, they would not have been ſo much embarraſſed.

Dumouriez only nominated one miniſter, and that for the naval department, which was the moſt difficult of all to fill up properly. This was Lacoſte, *commiſſaire-ordonnateur* of the marine.

He recollected, that having been formerly firſt clerk, he had preferred giving in his reſignation to the miniſter de Boynes, to par-

 ticipating

ticipating in an injuſtice. This circumſtance, far from injuring Lacoſte, although it occurred in the days of corruption, procured him the place of agent for the colonies. He was exceedingly induſtrious, poſſeſſed great experience, an uncommon ſhare of courage, a tried probity, an enlightened patriotiſm. This was the ſole appointment ſuggeſted by Dumouriez. Degraves gave his conſent, and the *Bordelais* * rendering juſtice to Lacoſte, who happened to be at Paris, he was the firſt on the liſt.

In reſpect to the reſt, the *Gironde*, perceiving that there was not any perſon in the capital proper to fill the office of miniſter of juſtice, propoſed an advocate of Bourdeaux, called Duranton, who poſſeſſed conſiderable reputation. He was a man of ſufficient knowledge, very honeſt, and an excellent citizen; but he was ſlow and irreſolute. He alſo was appointed, and he arrived at the end of a fortnight.

Claviere, a man of great talents, and a

* Another name for the ruling party of that day in the national convention, *Bourdeaux* being the principal town in the department of *Gironde*.—Tranſ.

relation

relation or ally of Briſſot, who had been ſucceſſively connected with Mirabeau, Lafayette, and the biſhop of Autun, and who had drawn up a very celebrated and excellent memorial relative to the finances, was propoſed and accepted as miniſter of public contributions.

Roland, who, under the old government, had been long inſpector of commerce and manufactures, and who was known by means of ſome very able works on theſe ſubjects, was choſen miniſter for the home department.

The council was thus complete, and it was well ſelected. Each of theſe ſix members poſſeſſed talents, induſtry, and a knowledge of his own particular vocation; and had it been in leſs difficult, or rather leſs *paſſionate* times, they would have conducted the affairs of the kingdom with ability. The court, and the ariſtocratical news-papers, were very witty on this adminiſtration. Roland was ſaid to reſemble a ſtarch and formal quaker. His ſtraight white hair, with very little powder, a black ſuit of clothes, and ſhoes faſtened with ſtrings in-

ſtead of buckles, made them conſider him as a rhinoceros. His appearance, however, was at once decent and agreeable.

They were pleaſed to term this the *ſanſculotte adminiſtration*. A courtier called one day on Dumouriez, and told him that this was the ſirname which had been given to them in the Thuilleries. "If we are *ſanſculottes*," replied he, "it will be more eaſily diſcovered that we are men." The court papers never deſignated him by any other appellation than that of the *bonnet-rouge* miniſter, becauſe, in conſequence of a miſtake, he had been obliged to appear in this attire at a ſitting of the Jacobins, the very next day after his entrance into the miniſtry *. The fact is, that he

* The anecdote here alluded to, is as follows: The very next day after his appointment to the foreign department, he paid his *court* to the Jacobin ſociety. The *red cap* had been for ſome time introduced as an emblem of patriotiſm, and was then worn by the preſident. Flattered with the appearance of one of the miniſters, the members received him with every mark of reſpect; and the citizen who preſided, under pretence of doing him honour, encircled his brows with the *bonnet-rouge*. Dumouriez was anxious for the ſupport of this very powerful and popular club; but he was not aware of this *ceremony*, which

he never went thither again but once, and that was on his return from the campaign againſt the Pruſſians.

As to the appellation of *ſanſculottes*, he believes that it was at this very period invented by the courtiers. It has produced ſtill more terrible conſequences than that of *raggamuffins* * in the Low Countries. It may here be remarked, that almoſt all the nicknames deſignating parties are vile; and that, notwithſtanding this, it is generally the faction, ſuperiour in point of dignity, that has invented them, to expreſs its ſcorn.

Theſe members, with more apparent propriety, but at the ſame time with as little truth, were termed the *Jacobin adminiſtration.*

which rendered him ridiculous in the eyes of the courtiers, and, conſidering his *principles*, muſt have been a great mortification.—*Tranſ.*

* The French expreſſion is *gueux*. The tranſlator believes the original term of reproach to have been *bettler*, from the German word *bettel*, or ragged, of which the Spaniſh courtiers were very liberal in the application to the Dutch patriots, who relieved their country from the tyranny of Philip II. It exactly correſponds to our modern phraſe of the *ſwiniſh multitude*.—Tranſ.

Neither Lacoſte, Degrave, nor Duranton, were ever members of the ſociety alluded to. Dumouriez, Roland, and Claviere, were three very ſtudious, and laborious men, who lived at home, aſſiſted but very ſeldom at the debates of this club previouſly to their entrance into the adminiſtration, never afterwards; and who conſidered it as a dangerous aſſembly, which it was neceſſary either to ſuppreſs, or lull aſleep, in order to render it leſs hurtful. The *Girondiſts* were of the ſame opinion, and the moment they thought themſelves ſure of a miniſtry, all the members of which had been appointed by their influence, they attacked too early and too imprudently thoſe very Jacobins, whom they thus rendered more furious and more powerful, and who in the end aſſaſſinated them by means of that very poniard of republicaniſm, which they themſelves had ſharpened and confided to their barbarous hands.

Dumouriez ought here to explain a ſeeming contradiction, which will appear ſelf-evident to his readers, more eſpecially ſuch as, opening his works with prejudices againſt him,

him, may ſeek to ſpy out errours. He has announced throughout the whole courſe of theſe memoirs, that he never belonged to any faction, and yet he is here appointed to the miniſtry by the *Girondiſts*, he allows the choice of his colleagues to be ſcrutinized by them, he receives a treaſurer for his own department from them, and conſults them on the appointment of the diplomatic agents in foreign countries. To ſolve this enigma, it is only neceſſary to refer to the different epochs.

It was on the 26th of February 1792 that he arrived at Paris from Niort, and he entered on his office on the 15th of March. The aſſembly had only exiſted ſince the preceding October, and had not as yet fixed its politics, its intrigues, and its factions. It was covered with ridicule by the ancient *Conſtitutionals*, who were the leaders of the *Feuillans*, and who ſuppoſed that if they ſucceeded in deſtroying it, they themſelves would be recalled, and eſtabliſh the ſyſtem of two houſes of parliament, in imitation of England. This party formed the right hand ſide of the convention. All the reſt,

whether Jacobins, Girondiſts, or Impartialiſts, now united in one body to reſiſt this formidable attack. The *Gironde* faction, properly ſo called, was not as yet in being.

Dumouriez on his appointment knew the leaders of the *Feuillans* to be raſh, and puerile intriguers. He was neither the enemy of the ſyſtem of two chambers, nor the advocate for it. Provided the monarchy were ſupported by means of a ſolid conſtitution, he cared but little about its elements. But he diſtruſted the meaſures of that faction; he was afraid, if it ſucceeded in annihilating this aſſembly, that it would be unable to produce another, and that the maw of deſpotiſm would devour all the parties, whence he anticipated a civil war. Thus he ſupported the *Girondiſts*, not as a faction, but as being the ſtay of the national aſſembly.

Degraves and Lacoſte thought as he did. The firſt retired; the ſecond ſtrove along with him againſt the *Gironde* when it became in its turn a tyrannical faction, with a deſign to ſupport the executive power; from that

that moment they were expoſed to all the rancour of its fury, more eſpecially Dumouriez, who previouſly cautioned, and afterwards unmaſked them. There were at firſt but two members of the adminiſtration who could be termed real *Girondiſts*: theſe were Claviere and Roland. After this, Servan, who ſucceeded Degraves, might be conſidered as appertaining to that party; but Dumouriez, Lacoſte, and even Duranton, were always *independants*. The laſt of theſe diſpleaſed them ſo much, that they forced him to return to Bourdeaux, whence they had formerly brought him, becauſe, without infringing on his patriotiſm, he had diſplayed an attachment towards Louis XVI, who was alſo fond of him.

Dumouriez, on his entering into adminiſtration, endeavoured to attach the faction of the *Gironde* to the king; he mentioned this matter to Laporte, whom he ſaw leſs frequently than heretofore, and even then with caution. This prince would have done right had he followed this advice, inſtead of permitting himſelf to be deceived by the *Feuillans*, who proved his ruin.

It was this circumſtance that produced that letter to the king from Genſonné, Vergniaud, and Guadet, which proved one of the crimes wherewith they were reproached. At that epoch, the king by their means might have conciliated the affections of the whole aſſembly, and even of the Jacobins themſelves; the government would then have aſſumed a more maſculine tone, and circumſtances would have brought about the reſt. The evil genius of France diſconcerted all theſe meaſures on purpoſe to deſtroy the royal family, the *Feuillans*, and the *Girondiſts*, and to produce the triumph of ruffians.

This is the whole truth, and the ſeries of facts that follows will afford the complete proof. Dumouriez never had in view but one object, and that was to unite the king and the nation indiſſolubly together, by means of the conſtitution. Beyond this, he could perceive no other reſource for the ſalvation of his country, with the dangers of which he was but too well acquainted.

At the epoch of his adminiſtration he wrote a letter to the preſident of the aſſembly,

bly, in which he demanded the ſum of ſix millions of livres as ſecret ſervice money for his department. This had been refuſed to his predeceſſors, becauſe the nature of the expences neceſſarily precluding a detailed and public account, its employment might become dangerous. The *Feuillans*, and the *right ſide* exclaimed againſt this demand, aſſerting that this money would be employed in ſubſidizing the Jacobins, or ſquandered among thoſe who had made him miniſter. Their bitterneſs occaſioned his ſucceſs. He had announced, that if it were not granted to him he would not remain in office, and it was at length decreed, that the miniſter for foreign affairs ſhould have ſix millions at his diſpoſal for the ſecret expences of his department, of which he was not to render any account. He received the decree, which he did not ſo much as read, and alſo the ſum. This affair will be again mentioned.

Petion was at this time mayor of Paris; he concealed, under a mild and prudent appearance, a heart coldly wicked. Dumouriez, who knew but little of him, ſaw that

that he poſſeſſed great credit, and wiſhed to reconcile him to the king, with a view to diminiſh the dangers and vexations of that prince. Petion was deſtitute of funds for conducting the police of Paris; he demanded through the intervention of the Girondiſts and the miniſters, and afterwards in perſon, that he ſhould be ſupplied with thirty thouſand livres *per* month, which were to be expended on the police.

Before Dumouriez acceded to this propoſition, which he deemed juſt, ſuppoſing, as he had promiſed, that this money ſhould be expended in counteracting the agitators of the people, in diſcovering the plots of foreign agents, and in enſuring the tranquillity of Paris, he mentioned it to the king, who knowing the mayor of Paris better than he did, addreſſed him as follows: "Petion is my enemy; you will ſoon ſee that he will expend this money in circulating libels againſt me; but if you think it may prove uſeful, grant it." The miniſter imagined that this prince was influenced by prejudice; he accordingly obſerved, that the refuſal of ſuch a ſum would be conſidered as a declaration

ration of ſuſpicion, and animoſity, and that it would render him an irreconcileable enemy; he moreover added, that he deemed it prudent to advance money for the uſe ſpecified, and that it might prove the means of a reconciliation; in ſhort, in any caſe the ſum was too ſmall to render the abuſe of it hurtful. Louis conſented. The miniſter cauſed the money to be carried to Petion, and having diſcovered that the king was in the right, he never made more than one payment.

Thoſe employed in the office for foreign affairs, and the miniſters abroad, were decidedly *counter-revolutionary*. His predeceſſors, who were better courtiers than ſtateſmen, had been more buſied in conducting intrigues than in adminiſtering the buſineſs of the nation; indeed ever ſince the diſgrace of the duke de Choiſeul, it had loſt all its influence in foreign countries, which it appeared however to have reſumed for a moment, under Mr. de Vergennes; but this was only to relapſe into its former degradation under the archbiſhop Brienne.

France, notwithſtanding its phyſical advantages, had become in the ſcale of European politics little better than a ſecondary power. The revolution, and the conduct of the emigrants, had completed its annihilation, and it was then blotted out, as it were, from the political map. It was neceſſary, if its conſideration was to be reſtored, to change all its agents, and employ others better calculated to ſupport with dignity its conſtitutional ſyſtem.

He began with reforming his own office. The two firſt clerks, Gerard de Renneval and Henin, conducted the affairs of this department, and produced diſpatches ready drawn up for the miniſter's ſignature. Theſe immediately demanded leave to retire on purpoſe to anticipate the intentions of the new miniſter. He portioned out his department into ſix ſeparate claſſes. He appointed a director-general. He created a private ſecretaryſhip, and reſerved all the great diſpatches for himſelf.

In the choice of new agents he conſulted the moſt enlightened members of the aſſembly, and with an exception of two or three

three Jacobins who happened to ſlip in, the ſelection was good.

The *Girondiſts* blamed the nomination of Bonne-Carrère as director-general. He did not belong to any faction. His youth had been rather debauched; he had been a gambler and a man of pleaſure, which had caſt an unfavourable gloſs on his morals. Mirabeau, with whom he was intimately connected, had gotten him appointed miniſter at Liege. Formerly ſecretary to the Jacobins, out of whoſe regiſter his name had been expunged, he was acquainted with all the myſteries of that ſociety. He was very faithful in his attachments, extremely active, was acquainted with all Paris, all the factions, all the deputies of the aſſembly, and the court. In addition to all this, he was ſingularly laborious, poſſeſſed a great facility in buſineſs joined to great clearneſs, and during the three months that he remained with Dumouriez, he proved uncommonly ſerviceable. He was alſo very exact in money matters, ſo that his very numerous and virulent enemies had no well founded reproach to make him on this ſcore. He

was

was beſides indefatigable; his ſociety was very agreeable, and he might be depended upon; in ſhort he was well calculated for his office, which he filled with great dexterity and utility.

In addition to the advantage reaped by the public, the miniſter by means of his reforms produced a great ſaving in his own department. He began with himſelf. His appointments amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand livres; he reduced this ſum to one hundred and twenty thouſand, at the ſame time ordering an increaſe of ſalary for the inferior clerks, and requiring more labour and aſſiduity on their part; upon the whole he *economiſed* his own office only to the amount of one hundred and thirty thouſand livres. He laid the two comparative eſtimates before the king, who was well pleaſed with his alterations, becauſe they were conformable to his own principles. He alſo tranſmitted copies of them to the diplomatic committee, in order to fix irrevocably his plan, which was alſo greatly approved of by them.

He then examined the ſtate of the penſions.

ſions. The funds for conducting foreign affairs did not exceed five hundred thouſand livres a month, one moiety of which was deſtined for the maintenance of miniſters in foreign courts, their ſecretaries, clerks, &c., and alſo for the payment of annuities to them when permitted to retire; of the other half, the accounts were only delivered to the king himſelf, under the denomination of *ſecret expences.*

This ſecond moiety was burdened to the amount of about a million of livres, in penſions to powerful noblemen, foreigners, ſpies, and the *ſecrecy of the poſt-office*, in other words, for the ſcandalous abuſe of this inſtitution, by the opening of letters.

He had great difficulty in procuring an exact liſt of theſe penſioners, who did not appear themſelves, but always received their allowance at the end of every quarter, on producing the orders of former miniſters. He diſcovered this trick, and commanded the payment to be ſuſpended, until their titles to their reſpective penſions ſhould be verified.

He then divided the penſions into three claſſes.

1°. Thoſe of the old ſervants of the ſtate, which were the worſt paid. He cauſed the arrears to be liquidated, even preſented new gratifications to thoſe whoſe demands had been rejected, and augmented others which were too ſmall, ſuch as the allowance of Meſſrs. Follard and Odunne, formerly miniſters, and then in the eightieth year of their lives.

2°. The penſions granted in virtue of treaties, or engagements entered into, in the name of France; ſuch as thoſe aſſigned to the houſe of Parma, to that of Carignan, and to the counteſs of Albany, widow of the pretender. He continued theſe without any difficulty whatever.

3°. The penſions granted by mere favour, or without any claim on the ſcore of diplomatic ſervices, or engagements with France; for example, Mr. Dogny, formerly *intendant-general* of the poſt-office, a man with an income of more than two hundred thouſand *livres*, had a penſion of thirty thouſand

livres

livres a year out of the ſecret ſervice money. He inſtantly, and without ſcruple, cancelled all theſe unjuſt penſions, and with a ſingle ſtroke of his pen gained between ſix and ſeven hundred thouſand livres for his department. He had courage enough to reſiſt the king's repugnance on this occaſion, and when the buſineſs was once finiſhed, his majeſty was extremely well pleaſed with it.

Montmorin and Leſſart had prevailed upon the king to nominate ſucceſſors to all the miniſters in foreign courts, an arrangement which produced a double expence. He repreſented, that none of theſe ſubſtitutes could be employed without embroiling the executive power anew with the nation. The prince accordingly ſuppreſſed this liſt, and the double employment inſtantly ceaſed. In ſhort, by theſe means he enriched his department to the amount of more than a million.

He cauſed a liſt, and minutes relative to all the diplomatic candidates, propoſed by the committee, to be drawn out; he himſelf only appointed four, who had been formerly miniſters, and with whoſe talents he was

well acquainted; and five others, who, although never employed in that capacity, were well informed men: theſe were the chevalier de Taulès, Chateauneuf his couſin, Emanuel de Maulde, nephew of marſhal d'Armentieres, Naillac, and Mourgues.

He preſented this liſt to the king, and ſtated at the ſame time, that although preſſed by the diplomatic committee to remove the whole of the miniſters, he would not propoſe to him to make this change all at once, but by degrees, and as the neceſſity of negotiations might require; which would afford time to make inquiries relative to the principles and talents of thoſe included in the liſt: and he added, that, five excepted, he did not know one of them.

He alſo remarked, that among the miniſters at preſent employed, three claſſes ought to be diſtinguiſhed:

1. Thoſe who had openly avowed counter revolutionary principles, and who ought to be inſtantly recalled;

2. Thoſe who, having conducted themſelves with prudence, might be retained; uſing the precaution however of chang-

ing their reſidence, which would be an advantage to them, as they would obtain more important miſſions in virtue of their ſeniority;

3. Thoſe in whoſe welfare his majeſty took particular intereſt: and he promiſed to retain theſe, provided they were not at the firſt rate courts, and did not appertain to the firſt claſs.

The king allowed all theſe propoſitions to be reaſonable, and was well pleaſed with his attention to him; he did not except to the general reform, which was ſlow, and directed with prudence, in any other inſtances than thoſe of Mr. de Durfort, miniſter at Venice, and Mr. de Chalons, the ambaſſador in Portugal.

The miniſter deemed it his duty to make a very moderate uſe of the great latitude allowed him by the king, in reſpect to theſe nominations. He commenced the ſyſtem pointed out in his diplomatic memorial, by being ſparing of the title of ambaſſador, and replacing all ſuch as often as poſſible, by means of miniſters plenipotentiary. Exiſting circumſtances were favourable to this ſyſtem.

He alſo wiſhed to diminiſh the number of little appointments, which were unattended with any uſeful object, ſuch as thoſe of Liege, Dantzick, the petty princes of Germany, &c. He was not willing to keep ambaſſadors any where but at Vienna, London, the *family courts**, Venice, Switzerland, and the Porte. Every where elſe, he thought miniſters plenipotentiary were ſufficient. As to the little courts, he united them to the great embaſſies, and left the buſineſs to be tranſacted there by *chargés d'affaires*, under the title of ſecretaries of legation. The diſcredit into which France had fallen, and the difficulty of finding proper perſons, ſtill more confirmed him in this plan. Theſe inferior, and, as they may be termed, *ambulatory* appointments, were ſo many primary ſchools for the diplomatic agents, who might form themſelves there with more ſimplicity, and leſs pretenſions.

In conformity to this idea, the following promotions were ſanctioned by the king:

* Theſe were Madrid, Turin, and Naples.—*Tranſ.*

De Maulde was nominated miniſter plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the room of Gouvernet, ſon of La Tour du Pin, formerly miniſter at war. Barthelemi, an old negotiator, who reſided at London as chargé d'affaires, was appointed ambaſſadour in Switzerland, in the place of the marquis de Verac; and Verninac, miniſter in Sweden. Vibraye, miniſter plenipotentiary at Dreſden, was ſent in the ſame quality into Denmark, in the room of the baron de la Houze, become incapacitated for public buſineſs by an apoplexy. The ſon of general Monteſquiou replaced Vibraye at Dreſden. Macault, ſon to the lady of the ſame name, who had been *ſub-governeſs* to the king and his brothers, left Stutgard, and was appointed ambaſſadour at Naples; he was ſucceeded at Stutgard by Maiſſonneuve, brother-in-law of Mr. de la Tour-Maubourg. Caillard, an old negotiator, became miniſter plenipotentiary at Ratiſbonne, and Daſſigne at Munich; he had been appointed by Leſſart. Châteauneuf replaced Caſtelnau, who was the avowed agent of the princes, at Geneva. Villars

went to Mayence, and de Pons was ſent to reſide at Cologne, in the place of Maulevrier.

As it had been long ſince agreed that Talleyrand, formerly biſhop of Autun, who poſſeſſed great talents, ſhould negotiate in England; and as there was ſome difficulty in aſſigning to him a public character, on account of the decree excluding members of the conſtituent aſſembly, the miniſter ſent him thither under the *ſhadow* of young Chauvelin, the ſon of his old friend and general, to whom he had aſſured a place, after the expiration of the two years limited by the decree, at the end of which term Talleyrand was to appear in the character of ambaſſadour.

This promotion was ſage. The greater number of thoſe now appointed were ſelected from among ſuch as had been long employed in public affairs. They were all known to the king; there was only one Jacobin, and he was a man of talents, ſagacity, and prudence. Dumouriez alſo ſelected out of the liſt a great number of candidates to act

act as ſecretaries to the embaſſies; their places were but of little conſequence, as they were removeable at pleaſure.

He himſelf drew up inſtructions for each of theſe miniſters, ſo that their ſyſtem of negotiation might be uniform, and that they might avoid all puerile and diplomatic intrigues. He ſuffered the other miniſters to remain, that he might have an opportunity of trying them, before he came to a final determination on their account.

His life, during the three months he was in adminiſtration, was the moſt unhappy and laborious that it is poſſible for any one to conceive. He entered his cloſet at five o'clock in the morning; and at ſix Bonne-Carrere came to tranſact buſineſs with him. At eleven o'clock commenced thoſe audiences which made him loſe ſo much time. At four he ſat down to table. At half an hour after five he returned to his office, whence he retired at midnight to ſupper, and went to bed at one o'clock in the morning.

The days when he attended council, or when his preſence became neceſſary at the aſſembly, or the diplomatic committee, only

produced

produced a more embarraſſing variety. Add to this the intrigues, the injuries, the pamphlets, the calumnies, the very inſults to which he was expoſed during this period, and then, ambitious men, ſay, whether we dare to deſire to become the miniſter of a people in a ſtate of revolution, and a prey to cabals, daſhing againſt each other like the waves of a ſea, agitated by a violent tempeſt!

The king began ſeemingly to place confidence in him, and was pleaſed at the frankneſs with which he informed him of every thing that occurred; of which, however, he himſelf was but too well informed, for the greater part of the domeſtics of this unhappy prince were at the ſame time his enemies and his ſpies. It was at this period that he one day ſaid to general Monteſquiou, "I was told that Dumouriez had but an indifferent head; he, however, always gives me good advice." Would to God that he had but followed his counſels!

The king mentioned to him one day, that the queen wiſhed to have a private conference with him. He was very much vexed at

at this information, as it was an unneceſſary ſtep, and one that might be ſubject to a wrong interpretation from all parties. It was neceſſary, however, to obey; and he was ordered to wait on her majeſty an hour before the council met. He took the precaution to infringe half an hour on this dangerous appointment, ſo that it might be of as ſhort duration as poſſible. He had been preſented to this princeſs on the day of his nomination, and ſhe had addreſſed him in a very indeterminate and ſhort diſcourſe, in which ſhe preſſed him to ſerve the king with fidelity; he had replied in a reſpectful and vague manner, and had never ſeen her ſince.

On being introduced into the queen's chamber, he found her alone, very much fluſhed, walking backwards and forwards with haſty ſteps, and with an agitation that preſaged a very violent explanation. He went and poſted himſelf at the corner of the fire-place, much grieved at the unfortunate lot of this princeſs, and the terrible ſenſations ſhe experienced. She at length advanced towards him with an irritated and majeſtic air,

and

and ſpoke as follows: "Sir, you are all-powerful at this moment, but it is through the favour of the people, who ſoon demoliſh their idols. Your ſituation depends upon your conduct. It is ſaid that you poſſeſs great talents. You ought to know, that neither the king, nor myſelf, will ſuffer either theſe novelties, or the conſtitution. I declare it frankly to you; you are therefore to chooſe the part you are to act."

He replied as follows: "I am ſhocked at the painful confidence which your majeſty has choſen to honour me with. I will not betray it: but I am placed between the king and the nation, and I appertain to my country. Permit me to repreſent to you, that his majeſty's ſafety, your own, and that of your auguſt children, are connected with the conſtitution, as alſo the re-eſtabliſhment of his legitimate authority. I ſhould treat you and him unjuſtly, if I ſpoke to you in a different manner. Both of you are ſurrounded by enemies, who ſacrifice you to their own private intereſts. If once the conſtitution is in vigour, far from occaſioning unhappineſs to the king, it will prove his felicity and joy;

joy; it is neceſſary, therefore, that he ſhould concur in eſtabliſhing it ſolidly and quickly."

The unfortunate queen, ſhocked at hearing her prejudices thus oppoſed, rejoined in a more paſſionate and louder tone of voice: "It will not laſt; therefore take care of yourſelf!"

Dumouriez then addreſſed her again with a modeſt firmneſs: "Madam, I am more than fifty years old; my life has been full of perils; and, on entering into adminiſtration, I reflected that reſponſibility was not the greateſt of my dangers."

Alas!" exclaims ſhe, in a melancholy tone of voice, "how much am I calumniated. . . . . You ſeem to think me capable of cauſing you to be aſſaſſinated!" And on ſaying this, the tears ran down her cheeks.

Agitated as much as herſelf, "God forbid!" cried he, "that I ſhould commit ſuch a cruel injury. The character of your majeſty is grand and noble; you have given heroic proofs of it, and theſe have inſured my admiration and attachment."

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On this ſhe became inſtantly calm, approached towards him, and ſupported herſelf on his arm. He then continued: "Believe me, madam, when I ſay that I have no intereſt in deceiving you, for I abhor anarchy and crimes as much as yourſelf. Confide in me, for I poſſeſs experience. I am alſo better ſituated than your majeſty to judge of events. This is not a momentary popular commotion, as you ſeem to believe. It is the almoſt unanimous inſurrection of a mighty nation againſt inveterate abuſes. Numerous and great factions fan the fire; and all of them abound with idiots and ruffians. I ſee nothing in the revolution but the king and the whole nation; whatever tends to ſeparate them, contributes to their mutual ruin; I ſhall labour as much as poſſible to re-unite them, and I crave your aſſiſtance. If I am an obſtacle to your deſigns, and if you perſiſt in them, tell me; I ſhall inſtantly deliver in my reſignation to the king, and retire in order to lament in a corner the fate of my country, and your own."

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The concluding part of this converſation produced an entire confidence on the part of the queen. They then converſed about the different factions; he pointed out the errours and the crimes of all of them, and he proved to her, that ſhe herſelf was betrayed by thoſe who ſurrounded her. He quoted words uttered under the ſeal of the moſt inviolable confidence, and this princeſs ſeemed to be entirely convinced.

He was at length obliged to point to the clock, and ſhow that the hour for attending the council-board had elapſed, on which ſhe diſmiſſed him with a ſerene and affable countenance. She was then well diſpoſed; but her confidents, and the horrible exceſſes engendered by Marat's papers and the Jacobins, ſoon replunged her into her former fatal reſolutions.

At another time ſhe ſaid to him in the preſence of the king, " You behold me quite diſconſolate; I dare no longer approach the windows that look into the garden. Yeſterday evening I appeared at that oppoſite the court, on purpoſe to breathe a little freſh air. A cannoneer of the national guard ſeized

ſeized that opportunity to overwhelm me with the groſſeſt inſults, adding, by way of concluſion, " WHAT PLEASURE WOULD IT GIVE ME TO HAVE YOUR HEAD STUCK ON THE POINT OF MY BAYONET !"

" In this frightful garden you behold in one place a man mounted on a chair, and reading the moſt horrible calumnies againſt us in a loud tone of voice; in another, you perceive an officer, or an abbé, dragged towards a baſon of water, and overwhelmed with injuries and blows; and, during all this, ſome play at foot-ball, or walk about without the leaſt concern. What a habitation! What a people!" She had but too much reaſon to ſay ſo.

Dumouriez was in a ſtate of conſternation, and ſighs were the only anſwer he could make. But he always concluded by recommending the moſt cordial union with the national aſſembly, becauſe every other reſource was annihilated, for he had always conſidered a counter-revolution as impoſſible. It might indeed have ſucceeded if the princes had not emigrated, or if they had returned; if the nobility had every where reſumed their poſts;

poſts; and if all this had been accompanied by a well-conducted plan. But ſtill, what dangers! . . . . . .

He never ceaſed to entertain the moſt melancholy reflections, after the alarming confidence the queen had beſtowed upon him. Seeing her but ſeldom in the king's apartment, when any important buſineſs brought him thither in the morning, he was more vigilant than ever relative to the proceedings of the court. All the late body-guards had gone to join the princes; and he learned that her majeſty had cauſed money to be given to ſome of them. He adviſed Laporte and the king to obſerve greater ſecrecy in their proceedings, and above all things to beware not to allow it to be diſcovered by any indiſcretion on their part, or that of their agents, that they countenanced this emigration. They obſerved to him in return, that the money advanced was merely in payment of former ſervices, and that thoſe who received it had not declared their intentions to emigrate.

A new conſtitutional guard had been

formed for the king, moſt of the officers of which had quitted their reſpective regiments becauſe they would not ſubſcribe the oath; it was compoſed of one third of troops of the line, and of two thirds of national guards, choſen by the departments from among the handſomeſt, moſt reſpectable, and beſt educated citizens. The officers had eaſily gained over the old troops of the line, whom, indeed, they themſelves had ſelected; but as they were unable to ſeduce the young citizens appointed by the departments, they firſt maltreated, and afterwards obliged them to reſign.

Under pretence of ſupplying the vacancies occaſioned by theſe means, they enliſted all the cut-throats of Paris, and all the gamblers and ſwindlers, with which that city abounds. They opened houſes of rendezvous for their recruits, and thus, inſtead of being compoſed in a conſtitutional manner, and conſiſting of eighteen hundred men, it amounted to near ſix thouſand aſſaſſins. Among this number were ſome *falſe brethren*, who being ſeduced with the lure of a few aſſignats, became

ſpies

ſpies upon their leaders, and rendered an account of all their operations to the committee of public ſafety.

Dumouriez, who was well informed of this, had often mentioned it to the king, who always replied: "Ah my God! if they ſuſpect the duke de Briſſac to be the leader of a dangerous conſpiracy, they are much in the wrong."

In the mean time the new body guards always aſſumed a menacing air, when they beheld the miniſters and the commiſſioners of the aſſembly paſs through the caſtle on purpoſe to preſent decrees to the king for his ſignature. They formed an intimacy with two or three battalions of national guards that did duty along with them; but they treated the others with ſcorn. They renewed the frivolous ceremonies of the old court on purpoſe to quarrel with, and mortify them, relative to the mode of ſervice. In ſhort, things were carried to ſuch a height, that ſuſpicions were everywhere engendered.

The clubs and the municipality at length interfered. The national aſſembly became alarmed. It was ſaid, that at the barracks

of the body guards, formerly the military ſchool, there was a white flag concealed, and it was added, that it had been preſented to them by the king. The people of the ſuburbs in that neighbourhood aſſembled, the municipal officers put themſelves at their head, and demanded to enter; this was at firſt refuſed, and the officers made preparations to defend themſelves, but according to cuſtom, they were abandoned by their men; they ſearched every where, and only found a very ſmall white flag, which was ſaid to have covered a cake given to or by the dauphin. They however diſcovered a number of ſongs and hymns in favour of the king, and againſt the national aſſembly, and alſo a quantity of newſpapers compoſed in the ſame ſtrain.

It was then that the aſſembly took a cloſer inſpection, not only into the conduct, but alſo the compoſition of this *corps*; it cauſed a regular report to be made, proving that its formation was unconſtitutional, and it paſſed a decree enjoining the king to diſband it; at the ſame time orders were iſſued for the arreſt of the duke de Briſſac.

The king wiſhed to reſiſt the decree; but the council prevailed upon him not to expoſe himſelf to danger, for a *corps* of which he knew ſo little. They reminded him of the terrible cataſtrophe of the 5th and 6th of October 1789. Dumouriez could not refrain from expreſſing his aſtoniſhment, that he ſhould diſplay more warmth and intereſt in behalf of a new raiſed body, than of his old guards, who were far ſuperiour. At length the king yielded, and this *corps* was caſhiered.

It was inſiſted that his majeſty ſhould create a new body guard, and ſelect more prudent officers. This propoſition was not acquieſced in, and he was much in the wrong, not only on his own account, whatever might be his projects, but becauſe this circumſtance gave occaſion for new ſuſpicions, on account of the inſidious careſſes laviſhed by the court on the battalion *des Filles de St. Thomas*, compoſed of bankers reſiding in the ſtreet *Vivienne*, and other opulent inhabitants, who were afterwards ſacrificed on the 10th of Auguſt.

It was at this epoch that the miniſtry

earneſtly inſiſted, that the king ſhould prevail on his brothers to return to France. Louis entered into this ſcheme without heſitation, and accordingly employed the chevalier de Coigny on the miſſion. He preſſed them, in a letter written with his own hand, to repair to him. This plan proved however abortive; they inſiſted on remaining in the electorate of Treves, in order to arm, as they ſaid, for his deliverance.

Their obſtinacy formed one of the principal cauſes of the declaration of war, which might have been avoided had they returned. Their preſence might perhaps have changed the face of affairs. There would be ſome danger, but it was their duty to expoſe themſelves to it, that they might not augment by their refuſal that of the prince, who was ſuſpected of conniving at their proceedings, and who added ſtrength to this ſuſpicion, by his previous flight, and his dubious conduct after his return.

Another cauſe of jealouſy in reſpect to Louis XVI was the inexcuſable multiplication of knights of St. Louis. It ſeemed as if this honorary diſtinction had been converted,

verted, ever ſince his reſidence in Paris, into a mere ſymbol of conſpiracy. Such an abuſe had ſo diſgraced this military order, formerly ſo reſpectable, that if by ſome improbable occurrence, the old government had been eſtabliſhed anew, or if a conſtitutional king had been authoriſed by the nation to confer this decoration on its warriors, it would have been abſolutely neceſſary either to have regenerated it, or to have ſubſtituted another order in its place, on account of the impoſſibility of ſuffering it to remain on its preſent footing; for the croſs of St. Louis was no longer held in any degree of eſtimation by the public. It is certain that more than ſix thouſand had been given away during the laſt two years, and out of this enormous number, not one ſixth had been procured by deſert.

At this time but too much real ground of complaint was given to the Swiſs cantons. The regiment of *Chateauvieux* had revolted at Nancy. Forty-two ſoldiers had been tried according to the laws of their nation, condemned to the gallies, and tranſferred to Breſt. Partly from hatred to ge-

neral Bouillé, who was the contriver of the king's flight, and who had formerly chaſtiſed the rebels of Nancy, and partly out of oppoſition to Lafayette, who had very properly ſupported Bouillé in this latter affair, the Jacobins began to conſider the inhabitants of Nancy as the victims of deſpotiſm; they alſo reſolved to deliver the Swiſs galley-ſlaves.

In this caſe, it would have been proper to have ſent them to their reſpective cantons, that they might be dealt with according to their pleaſure. To liberate men who had been condemned to ſuffer puniſhment, was to inſult the cantons, and to attack their *capitulary* rights, by which they were allowed to decide on the fate of the culprits appertaining to their own body. We had already a ſufficient number of enemies on our hands, without quarrelling with an ally that conducted herſelf ſagely in reſpect to us, and more eſpecially with a free and republican nation.

The miniſter repreſented all the dangers of ſuch an inexcuſable proceeding to the diplomatic committee, but neither it, nor the

the national aſſembly would interfere. He then addreſſed himſelf to Collot-d'Herbois, a comedian and furious Jacobin, whom he endeavoured to gain by the proſpect of a place. This player had taken it into his head to imagine that he ought to be appointed to the home department, and he had on this account retained a grudge againſt the miniſter for foreign affairs. Inſtead of complying with his juſt ſolicitations, he redoubled his enthuſiaſm: the Jacobins of Paris accordingly conducted the galley ſlaves of Chateauvieux from Breſt, paraded them through the metropolis in a triumphant car, preſented them to the aſſembly, and forced it to ſanction the ſcandalous injury which was thus committed nationally againſt a nation allied to us.

Another circumſtance, that happened to occur at this period, aggravated the wrongs of France againſt the canton of Berne; this was an occurrence relative to the regiment of Erneſt, which was diſarmed, and ſent out of Aix, a little indeed through its own fault, but much more on account of the bad conduct of general Barbantane. Theſe two events

events greatly embaraſſed Degraves and Dumouriez, who prevailed on the king to permit them to make uſe of his name to repair the wrongs of the nation, in which they ſucceeded. The miniſter of foreign affairs cauſed the *red riband* to be beſtowed on Mr. de Vatteville, major of this regiment, and he w s afterwards appointed colonel, on the reſignation of Mr. Ernſt, who was alſo preſented with a ſimilar decoration.

On this occaſion Degraves told Dumouriez, that if he himſelf were deſirous of the *red riband*, he would propoſe it at the ſame time. He beſought his colleague to proceed no further in this matter, but Dumouriez took an opportunity to mention it to the king, who ſaid that he would moſt readily confer it on him. He replied as follows: " Sire, your majeſty would in this caſe injure yourſelf, and I ſhould be conſidered as ſold to you. I have ſerved you during thirty-ſix years, I have been a knight of St. Louis thirty, I am covered with wounds, and I have made ten campaigns. It is not until after the conſtitution ſhall have been firmly eſtabliſhed, and your majeſty rendered

dered happy, that I can accept the favours you may pleaſe to confer on me, without any ſolicitation however on my part." He then cauſed the vacant riband to be conferred upon an old lieutenant-general called Verdières.

At this period the ſix miniſters lived together on friendly terms. They had agreed to dine with each other by turns, during the three days in every week when the council aſſembled, and to admit no other company. Each produced his diſpatches, they talked over the buſineſs about to be ſubmitted to the king, and they diſcuſſed every article minutely, to prevent any diſputes before him, and alſo to form one common opinion. This continued during nearly a month, at the end of which time, Roland wiſhed that his wife and his friends might be admitted at his table.

Lacoſte and Dumouriez, on this, after having vainly oppoſed ſuch a ridiculous innovation, reſolved no longer to carry their papers to theſe dinners. This was a contrivance invented by the *Girondiſts*, on purpoſe to intermeddle with public affairs, and

to

to regulate the government. They were very angry with theſe two miniſters. It was then that Dumouriez told Genſonné, that his brethren began to be too ambitious a faction, and that the petulance of Guadet, the levity of Briſſot, and the malignity of Condorcet, would prove their ruin. Genſonné remained with this party, on purpoſe to endeavour to conduct its operations with more propriety. Vergniaud often quarrelled with it. Guadet and he were rivals in oratory. It was pride, rather than patriotiſm, that actuated their public conduct.

There was an affair which the king had much at heart, and yet he had never been able to prevail upon himſelf to diſcloſe it to Dumouriez. During the laſt eight or ten days, the latter perceived that this prince concealed ſomething from him, and yet ſeemed ready to make the diſcloſure whenever they were in private together. This was the nomination of a governor for the dauphin. His majeſty wiſhed to confer this place on Fleurieu, a man of merit, a member of the academy of ſciences, and a captain in the ſea ſervice; he had been during

during a very ſhort period at the head of the marine department. The king ſpoke to his confidents on this ſubject, who inſtantly converted it into a matter of traffic, and promiſed that his choice ſhould be acceded to, provided he ſacrificed two millions of livres; his majeſty, liſtening to nothing but the violence of his own deſires, and thoſe of the queen, had unfortunately conſented.

The miniſter on hearing of this, inſtantly waited upon him. He told him that he was deceived by his confidents, who were no better than rogues; that this was not a proper time to introduce ſuch a propoſition, becauſe Condorcet at that very moment was buſied about the plan of a decree relative to the education of the *prince royal*, and that the aſſembly, perceiving that his demand was made only to elude and anticipate this decree, would remain obſtinate, and hurt his feelings by a direct refuſal.

"If you wiſh to ſucceed, do not precipitate any thing... Allow me but time to prepare the *Gironde*, and through it the Jacobins. You may be certain of the *right ſide* of the aſſembly without paying it

is a fraud that will never proſper. A war is about to take place, and all the citizens are preſenting patriotic donations. Offer your two millions, ſince you are determined to ſacrifice them, and perhaps we ſhall ſucceed." The king did not make any reply.

Unhappily his word was pledged, and they had promiſed him the moſt complete ſucceſs. They even gave him to underſtand that he was deceived by his miniſter.

On the very next morning, at an early hour, all the members of the adminiſtration received a meſſage deſiring them to repair to the king at ten o'clock, which was a very unuſual time. On their arrival they were conducted from the council chamber to the king's apartment, where they found him and the queen, the latter of whom addreſſed them as follows:

" The king has aſſembled you relative to an affair in which I am deeply intereſted. We cannot be refuſed a privilege permitted to the loweſt citizens, that of appointing preceptors for their own children. We have therefore nominated Mr. de Fleurieu;

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an account of this nomination muſt be inſtantly communicated to the aſſembly."

The king then took out of his pocket a letter to the preſident announcing the appointment, and preſented it to Mr. Duranton, the miniſter of juſtice. Dumouriez was ſilent. Another member wiſhed to make ſome obſervations, but Louis ſhut his mouth by ſaying: "Go all together; ſuch are my orders."

They accordingly repaired in a body to the aſſembly. A categorical anſwer was at this time expected from the court of Vienna. Every body prepared to hear the miniſter for foreign affairs. Duranton roſe, and read the letter from the king, but he was inſtantly interrupted by violent hootings.

The preſident then took the letter, examined, and re-delivered it, obſerving at the ſame time, that it was not counter-ſigned. It was preſcribed by an expreſs decree that every letter from the king to the aſſembly ought to be counter-ſigned by a miniſter, ſo that ſome one ſhould be reſponſible for its contents. None of the ſix members of the cabinet had recollected this circum-

ſtance. The ſcheme was accordingly baffled, and if the king did not loſe the whole of his two millions, it at leaſt coſt him great part of that ſum. This affair proves how much the unfortunate Louis was deceived, even by the very perſons who apparently evinced the greateſt perſonal attachment to him, and who yet devoured his civil liſt.

All theſe domeſtic occurrences took place at different epochs, as well as many others, which Dumouriez paſſes over in ſilence, that he may arrive at the greateſt event that occurred during his adminiſtration, indeed an event in which all Europe is intereſted, namely the declaration of war.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Negotiations.

ALL the powers of Europe began now to conſider France, in conſequence of its revolution, as reduced to a ſtate of abſolute *nullity*, and actually imagined that ſo far from advancing towards any uſeful point, and procuring a neceſſary reform, it was running faſt into the moſt deplorable anarchy, becauſe the two powers, inſtead of uniting together, became daily more divided. All the ſurrounding nations were however more or leſs intereſted in the immediate ceſſation of theſe troubles, but they were led aſtray becauſe they viewed theſe events through a falſe medium, and conſequently adopted an erroneous ſyſtem of politics. The complaints of the French fugitives alſo tended

not a little to inſpire thoſe courts which gave them protection with unjuſt ideas.

They depicted the national aſſembly as a faction rather audacious than powerful; they aſſerted their own to be the ſtronger party; affirmed that the troops of the line were ſtill attached to them, and that in addition to this the army was greatly weakened by the recent emigration, which had bereaved it of all its officers; that the national guards were nothing more than an aſſemblage of timid *ſhopkeepers*, incapable of looking a ſoldier in the face; that the provinces only waited their return, to deſtroy the conſtitution, and reſtore the government to which they had been attached for upwards of fourteen centuries; and that this ſo much vaunted conſtitution was impracticable in itſelf, as it was not congenial to the genius of a nation accuſtomed to adore its kings. They adduced their own conduct as an example of this devotion to the monarchy, and yet they abandoned it to thoſe very factious men whoſe names they were accuſtomed to mention only with ſcorn.

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All the governments of Europe gave a certain degree of credit to theſe exaggerations. The more diſtant evinced an indifference that diſcovered but little foreſight; the neighbouring ones, on the contrary, cheriſhed the expectation of being able to repay themſelves by diſmemberments, for the active part they intended to take.

The example of the partition of Poland had converted this mode of profiting by the internal troubles of ſurrounding nations into a regular political ſyſtem. Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and even Louis XV, had annexed Rouſſillon, la Breſſe, the country of Gex, Alſace, Franche-Comtè, Flanders, and Lorraine, to France. The partition ſyſtem having effectually ſucceeded in Poland, it was expected, that by exciting civil wars in France, the ſame effects might be produced there.

Spain, Italy, and Germany, would then have an opportunity of reclaiming thoſe territories formerly diſmembered from their poſſeſſions. England alſo, while France was

thus parcelled out, might be able to ſeize on her colonies, which would operate as a very profitable revenge for the American war.

On the other hand, the French nation, always fond of extremes, treated as tyrants and as enemies all thoſe governments that diſapproved even of the exceſſes of the revolution; and more eſpecially ſuch as ſeemed to menace it, not only by offering an aſylum to a fugitive faction, which in itſelf would not have been reprehenſible, (for atrocious actions apart, every ſtate ought to afford a refuge to the unhappy) but by openly taking part with it; by encouraging the levying of armed bodies of men under French enſigns and denominations, and with the avowed intention of producing a civil war; by beſtowing on the princes, not ſimple penſions for their maintenance, but actual ſubſidies for the payment of their troops; by refuſing to treat with the miniſters of France, although they negotiated in the king's name; by ſecretly recogniſing the plenipotentiaries of the emigrated princes; and by appearing

ing to behold in the perſons of thoſe princes the true government, and the ſole repreſentation of the French monarchy.

Of all theſe different European governments the republican ones were the wiſeſt, but they were alſo the moſt indifferent, and with them the ancient mode of negotiation ſubſiſted nearly on the ſame footing as formerly.

1°. In reſpect to Venice. The miniſter had agreed with Mr. Piſani, a man of merit, who was ambaſſadour from this republic, not to make any alteration in the diplomatic repreſentation, and not to let the king nominate a new ambaſſadour, unleſs he ſhould be forced to it; in that caſe the appointment was not to take place until after a notification, and the conſent of the ſenate had been obtained.

2°. At Genoa reſided Semonville, appointed by Montmorin, and who, either right or wrong, was become the terrour of all Italy.

3°. The miniſtry permitted the *chevalier* de Ternant, a prudent man, who had been nominated by means of Lafayette's in-

 fluence,

fluence, to remain with the United States of America.

4°. In reſpect to Switzerland, which by the prudence of Berne, Zurich, and Appenzell, and by the energy of colonel de Neiſs, had reſiſted the impetuoſity of two or three cantons, and the influence of count d'Artois; whoſe preſence had not been able to produce a declaration, although the French had committed a ſufficient number of errours and injuries to interrupt the good harmony ſubſiſting between theſe two allied nations; and although the acceſſion of Porentruy might have been conſidered as an attack on the Helvetic body. But the prudential foreſight of the Swiſs induced them to the maintenance of moderate principles.

On the other hand, the monarchical governments cheriſhed hoſtile impreſſions, and only ſought for an opportunity to unite, to annihilate the French revolution.

1°. The Pope foreſaw the diminution of his power, and his revenue. He had already loſt Avignon, which was become the theatre of the moſt atrocious crimes, and theſe were

were only the precurſors of ſtill greater ones. This country, formerly uſurped from Provence by means of pious frauds, and poſſeſſed in conſequence of redeemable engagements, might have been legally reannexed to France, provided ſhe had faithfully reimburſed the Pope, according to a fair valuation. There is even reaſon to believe, that he would have ſigned the treaty, which Dumouriez, actuated by a ſpirit of juſtice, and the honour of the nation, wiſhed to bring to a concluſion.

The pope, incapable of ſupporting by force of arms this little territory, embraced on all ſides by the dominions of France, would have at length ceded it, on receiving a ſtipulated price. But a ſtill greater intereſt rendered him irreconcileable; this was the retrenchment of his ſpiritual authority in France; in conſequence of which the famous concordate of Leo X would have been annihilated, and he himſelf deprived of immenſe revenues. Yet even all this would not have put a ſtop to the negotiation, and the pope would at length have found himſelf obliged to ſacrifice this illegitimate ſource

of riches, for which his predeceſſors were indebted to the policy of Leo X, and the folly of Francis I. But the national aſſembly ruined all, in conſequence of the groſsly imprudent act of alienating the clergy by tendering an abſurd oath.

2°. The order of Malta could not any longer ſubſiſt in France, in direct oppoſition to the ſyſtem of equality eſtabliſhed in conſequence of the abolition of all titles. Nothing would have been more inconſiſtent with the conſtitution, than the conſervation of benefices inveſted with feudal claims, and ſcattered throughout all the provinces of France; this too in favour of Frenchmen who remained at once *monks and nobles*, and who were under ſubjection to a foreign prince, for the expreſs purpoſe of carrying on an eternal war againſt the Turks our allies, from the mere ſpirit of religious intolerance. The miniſter however had put this very difficult affair into a train of negotiation.

This, as well as every other ſpecies of property belonging to the clergy, had been declared *national* by an expreſs decree; but Du-

mouriez was anxious to find a pretext for indemnifying the preſent poſſeſſors, whom he conſidered as having a claim to the *uſufruct* alone. It is alſo to be obſerved, that a foreign order compoſed of French citizens could not any longer be ſuffered in France. Thus the order of Malta was aboliſhed both in law and in fact, by the political reform that had taken place, as was heretofore the caſe in England, and every other country that had adopted the reformed religion.

3°. Naples and Parma, two courts belonging to the houſe of Bourbon, were too feeble to be dangerous. But they exhibited a decided and a very natural averſion to the French revolution, becauſe they ſuppoſed it likely to be attended with the diminution of their own grandeur: although this was a falſe idea; for the conſtitution, on the contrary, would have fixed on a ſage and unſhaken baſis the true power and glory of the elder branch of their family, which then reigned in France. Their abſurd politics multiplied thoſe very dangers, which they hoped to remedy by means of little impotent conſpiracies.

Parma,

Parma, living almoſt intirely on the favours derived from the king of France, depended in ſome meaſure on the miniſter for foreign affairs, who found means to render it intereſted in maintaining a prudent conduct by continuing the payment of its penſions. Naples dreading, and that too with ſome reaſon, the introduction of *jacobinical* principles among a people truly *ſanſculottes*, and famous on account of their frequent revolts, perſecuted the French; and this would have engendered diſputes, of which that court would have been the dupe after the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution.

4°. Tuſcany thought in the ſame manner as the court of Vienna, but felt itſelf too weak to exhibit any external ſigns of diſapprobation.

5°. The king of Sardinia, beſieged by the French princes, and the numerous emigrants who crowded his territories, and terrified alſo for his *tranſalpine* ſtates, diſcovered an equivocal, but in fact a really hoſtile diſpoſition, which ſoon after, and that too on a trifling occaſion, engaged him in a very dangerous war. This, notwithſtanding the inefficient

inefficient ſubſidy afforded by England, will prove ruinous, even ſuppoſing that he ſhould ever reobtain the poſſeſſion of Savoy, a circumſtance which becomes daily more doubtful.

6°. Spain and Portugal, endeavouring, with good reaſon, to prevent the introduction of the revolutionary ſyſtem into their territories, perſecuted and baniſhed all the French, obliging thoſe whom a long reſidence had almoſt rendered *indigenous*, to ſubſcribe uſeleſs oaths, which only ſerved to whet their curioſity and inclination in reſpect to the new opinions.

However, as the count d'Aranda had become prime miniſter of the former kingdom, Dumouriez determined to addreſs himſelf to him, in order to enſure at leaſt the neutrality of that country. The court of Madrid during the preceding year being on the point of entering into a war with England, in conſequence of a quarrel about the ſettlement of Nootka ſound, in the northern extremity of the Pacific Ocean, the conſtituent aſſembly, faithful to the alliance between the nations, had decreed the armament

ment of forty-five ſail of the line for the ſupport of Spain. The *family compact* could no longer ſubſiſt becauſe France was no longer the property of the king, but, on the contrary, the king by the new conſtitution appertained to the nation. Dumouriez regarded this diſtinction as a mere diſpute about words, which they had not then time to diſcuſs, and which might be very eaſily ſettled after the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution. What moſt concerned him was to procure the neutrality of that court. As to its aſſiſtance, there was no manner of occaſion for it; and he had already aſſured himſelf of this neutrality by a frank and perſonal negotiation with the count d'Aranda. This wiſe miniſter was immediately ſacrificed when that court changed its ſyſtem.

8°. It was the intereſt of England to remain neuter; and, notwithſtanding the extreme repugnance of the KING to the French nation, the court of St. James's conducted itſelf with ſagacity. The miniſter for foreign affairs always treated the ambaſſador, lord Gower, with the utmoſt candour; they in conjunction ſettled ſome trifling

ſubjects

ſubjects of diſſenſion, and it needed all the imprudence of Briſſot, all the petulance of the national convention, and the equally atrocious and impolitic crime of the murder of Louis XVI, to force Great Britain in 1793 to depart from its ſyſtem of neutrality, and to plunge itſelf into an expenſive conteſt, which may afford a momentary advantage in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; but theſe will be balanced by great loſſes and enormous ſubſidies, without any ſurety of retaining the conqueſts.

9°. It was the intereſts of *republican* Holland to remain at peace, but that of the Stadtholder to ſtifle French liberty in its cradle, leſt it ſhould ſome day afford ſupport to the Dutch patriots. This intereſt is ſtill badly underſtood, for either that country is governed according to its conſtitution, and then its repreſentative has nothing to fear; or two extenſive powers have been uſurped, and if ſo the people will conſtantly murmur, and at laſt re-enter into the poſſeſſion of their rights. The court of the Hague ought ſtill more to diſtruſt the court of France governing arbitrarily and without a conſtitution,

a conſtitution, than a conſtitutional king, all of whoſe movements are regulated by the intereſt of the nation.

Was it not on the point or being the victim of the firebrand Brienne, who firſt excited, and afterwards perfidiouſly abandoned the patriots? This court, then, ought to have preſerved a ſtrict neutrality; but it did not do ſo. De Maulde received very prudent inſtructions, and this too without the remoteſt idea of duplicity. There could no longer be any chicane in French politics, as nothing was concealed; it ought therefore neither to have judged in the preſent inſtance according to the intrigues of the old French court, or the pamphlets of the jacobins, and it is preciſely becauſe they did not adopt a juſt mean between theſe two extremes, that all the cabinets of Europe have erred.

10°. Denmark ought to be held up as a model of the conduct, which ſhould have been adopted in reſpect to the French. Obſerving a ſagacious neutrality, it kept up its uſual connections with the nation, without interfering in its internal diſputes. It was

was too far diſtant for its mediation between the king and the people to prove uſeful; it belonged to the governments in the immediate neighbourhood of France to act a conciliatory part. This was the ſole juſt and uſeful character that they could have adopted; and it was alſo neceſſary, for their own proper and immediate tranquillity, that they ſhould have endeavoured to arreſt the exceſſes of the revolution: but to accompliſh this, it would have been indiſpenſable not to have openly protected the princes, and encouraged their diſobedience, their arming, and their fury; not to have diſowned the legal aſſembly of a great nation; and not to have conſidered all France as jacobins, and the king as a priſoner; for at that moment he was only checked in the falſe career, to which he was inſtigated by a perverſe court. It was the conduct of this very court and of the princes; it was the abſurd politics of the neighbouring powers, which produced a foreign war, and the miſeries of France, and which have rendered this revolution criminal, and replete with exceſſes of all kinds.

11°. Sweden adopted a line of conduct exactly oppoſite to that of Denmark. Guſtavus was under obligations to Louis XV, from whom he had received advice and a decided protection during a revolution directly oppoſite to the preſent. He foreſaw that regenerated France, no longer embarraſſed with the political ſyſtem, which had agitated its ambitious kings and their intriguing courtiers, would not cheriſh any other than general, commercial, and pacific connections with the reſt of the European republics, and would thus eaſe itſelf from the ſubſidies, which it paid to the ſubaltern powers: he himſelf was of this number.

Guſtavus dreaded at the ſame time, leſt the example of the French ſhould rouſe the Swedes from their ſlumber. He accordingly openly eſpouſed the counter-revolution. The emigrants loudly boaſted of their great influence over him, and he was to return, they ſaid, at their head, and re-eſtabliſh the king of France upon the throne.

His tragical death was immediately attributed to the jacobins. Dumouriez has not been

been able to diſcover a ſingle trace, among all the papers relative to this horrible event, which could give the leaſt colouring to ſuch an accuſation. He well knows that more activity has been attributed to this ſociety in foreign countries, than it ever poſſeſſed, and it is perhaps this very ſuppoſition that has doubled the power of this ſect.

12°. Ruſſia diſcovered the moſt violent antipathy toward the French nation, perhaps the better to conceal her profound policy. This power muſt aſſuredly profit by encouraging the armies of Pruſſia and Auſtria to undertake a diſtant expedition, and by allowing them to exhauſt themſelves againſt the fortified towns, with which France is every where ſurrounded. The ſecond partition of Poland has already developed part of her intentions, and in a ſhort time, perhaps, the remainder of her plan will be carried into effect againſt the unfortunate Turks, who ever ſince the beginning of 1794 have beheld themſelves menaced by this ambitious power, which, under

pretext of attacking the ſouthern provinces of France, is covering the Black Sea, the Boſphorus, and the Archipelago, with her numerous veſſels.

13°. Turkey for a long time paſt may be conſidered as being in a ſtate of inſignificance, at leaſt ſo far as concerns the grand political concerns of France, but it was neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt precaution relative to her commercial intereſts; and this is what induced the miniſter to permit Mr. de Choiſeul-Gouffier, a man of great merit, to continue as ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, and who, although decidedly *counter-revolutionary*, yet in this point of view conducted the affairs of France with great propriety.

It was not until ſubſequently to the declaration of war againſt Auſtria, that he deemed it proper to appoint another, on purpoſe to obtain a military diverſion on the part of the Turks againſt that power, ſhould an occaſion preſent itſelf; and a circumſtance intirely unconnected with this plan induced him to nominate Semonville, which choice happened to be confirmed by his

his ſucceſſor; this produced his illegal arreſt on neutral ground, and long impriſonment.

14°. The Germans were moſt of all intereſted in the prompt termination of the troubles produced by the French revolution, before they extended themſelves abroad. Dumouriez perceived three diſtinct intereſts: that of the Germanic body properly ſo called, or of the empire; that of the king of Pruſſia; and that of the houſe of Auſtria. Theſe intereſts, when well underſtood, ought either to have engaged them to have adopted a perfect neutrality, or a conciliatory mediation. Ill underſtood, they would neceſſarily and quickly involve them in a war.

The Germanic body had been injured in the perſons of ſuch of its members as poſſeſſed property in Alſace, by the conſtitutional decrees, becauſe ſuch property was neceſſarily diſcharged from feudal claims, and from every ſpecies of ſervitude. But this was a mere juridical diſcuſſion, which did not intereſt the whole of the empire ſo much as to induce it to have recourſe to arms; it would have been juſt to have purchaſed

chaſed the right of ſovereignty in ſome inſtances, and to have offered an indemnification for the productive claim of all theſe properties; and this buſineſs, indeed, was actually in a ſtate of negotiation: ſome of theſe petty ſovereigns, ſuch as the count de Löwenſtein-Wertheim, had already ſigned treaties with the miniſter for foreign affairs, who would have ſucceeded in ſatisfying them all by merely following the exact rules of juſtice, if the great powers had not made a common cauſe of it, on purpoſe to embroil the empire.

It would indeed have coſt France a great deal of money, but the aſſembly had not yet become ſo unjuſt as to refuſe to liſten to a reaſonable accommodation, which was the baſis on which the miniſter had treated, and which great political, and important reaſons, rendered highly acceptable to the Germanic body. A war with France could only tend to ruin the empire, which could not poſſibly gain any thing by ſuch an event; on the contrary, if Pruſſia and Auſtria ſhould ſucceed in re-eſtabliſhing an arbitrary monarchy, they alone would profit by

by the diſmemberment, and every augmentation of their power would prove detrimental to the other ſtates, and tend to the diminution of conſtitutional force.

Thus the Germanic body, properly ſo called, was intereſted in the ſucceſs of a reaſonable conſtitution in France, and in the preſervation of an exact neutrality. Every thing done ſince Dumouriez has quitted the adminiſtration, either on the part of France, or of the Germanic empire, has been in expreſs oppoſition to the true intereſts of both.

15°. If the court of Berlin had not been engaged with Ruſſia in a new partition of Poland, it would have ſeen in a very different point of view the revolution of a country too far diſtant to give any uneaſineſs, and conſequently would not have intermeddled. Until the congreſs of Reichenbach its conduct had been hoſtile to the houſe of Auſtria; in concert with the Stadtholder it had fomented the Belgick revolution; but the court of Vienna had at laſt found means to regain its friendſhip by well timed conceſſions.

The king of Pruſſia imagined, that by aſſiſting the houſe of Auſtria in putting a ſtop to the troubles in the Low Countries, and afterwards in quelling the inſurrection in France, he himſelf would be left more at liberty to effect the ſecond partition of Poland, and this would reimburſe him for the expences of the war againſt France, which was ſuppoſed likely to be but of a very ſhort duration.

This enterpriſe, too, was conſidered as far from difficult; and it might even prove very lucrative, for if the Pruſſian army had been able to march as far as Paris, the contributions exacted by it would have aſſuredly indemnified him amply for all his expences, and Louis XVI would not have been replaced *gratuitouſly* on the throne. To theſe two intereſts, the one conſiſting of the augmentation of territory, the other of treaſure, was added the rancour of this monarch on account of the groſs inſults laviſhed by the Jacobins, in all their newſpapers, upon every foreign king, and this too with equal levity and imprudence.

The union of all theſe motives intirely changed

changed the ancient political ſyſtem of the court of Berlin, and induced it to contract an unnatural alliance with the court of Vienna, which will not continue longer than during the preſent war with France. This cabinet always treated France with rigour, and appeared to favour the emigrants, without permitting itſelf however to be drawn into any great expence on their account: but it committed a grand miſtake in ſelecting them for guides in its military operations.

Young Cuſtine, who died a victim to his filial tenderneſs, and who, had he lived, would have been a greater man than his father, although replete with talents, yet was never able to make himſelf recognized as miniſter in Pruſſia, and the efforts made by him to communicate his inſtructions to the cabinet always proved ineffectual. In ſhort there never was any negotiation whatever between the conſtitutional king of the French and the king of Pruſſia.

Dumouriez however kept fair with this court; he had not been yet able to ſettle ſuch a well eſtabliſhed correſpondence abroad,

as to afford him the means of diſcovering that a freſh partition of Poland was meditated, in which caſe he could have eaſily divined the motives and reſolutions of this cabinet. There was much talk of the ſeizure of Dantzick, but the court of Vienna could not obſtruct this, and he did not look on it as a ſufficient reaſon to induce the court of Berlin to change its ſyſtem of rivality. He therefore conſidered its connection with the court of Vienna as an alteration in politics which could not long endure; in conſequence of this, he reſolved, that, whatever part the king of Pruſſia might chooſe to take, it would be prudent, even while repelling his attacks, not to conſider him as an enemy; he accordingly, always ſeparated his cauſe from that of Auſtria, on purpoſe to leave a door open for conciliatory negotiations, the moment it was diſcovered that the leaſt coolneſs had taken place between ſuch unnatural allies.

16°. As to the court of Vienna, it had declared itſelf ſo openly the enemy of the French revolution, and it granted ſuch a decided protection and ſupport to the emi-

grants, that it was not poſſible to perſevere in a courſe of negotiations, which would have been equally diſhonourable to the king and the nation, and had already ſerved to ruin two miniſters, to hurt the unfortunate Louis XVI, to produce a number of conſpiracies, to increaſe the flame of diſcord, and to give a political conſiſtency to the dangerous Jacobins, as this court had attacked them with an ill-timed bitterneſs.

Dumouriez all Europe conſiders as the author of this war; as the elector of Cologne has moſt unjuſtly aſſerted in a printed letter, becauſe, finding himſelf in adminiſtration at the moment of an exploſion prepared by intriguers, he was obliged to deliver in a report, which produced the hoſtile declaration in queſtion. Dumouriez, on the contrary, aided by Meſſrs. de St. Foy and la Sonde, had been buſied ever ſince the year 1791, in rooting out the germs of diſcord.

He had made uſe of his influence over one part of the diplomatic body, and alſo of his intimacy with Mr. de la Porte, to induce both the aſſembly and the king to adopt

principles,

principles, which would more than ever have united France and Auſtria againſt all the agitators, who encouraged diſſenſions both in France, and in the Low Countries.

This was the only mode left for renewing the confidence of the French in the court of Vienna, and enabling it to act the noble part of a conciliator; which was indeed ſtrictly conſonant both with its dignity and its true intereſts, as in caſe of ſucceſs, it would have enſured a conſtitution to France, which would have fixed the alliance on an unalterable baſis, and guarantied the tranquillity of the Low Countries.

The court of Vienna, indeed, appeared at one time to adopt ſimilar ideas, for the count de Metternich * ſent an agent to Paris, expreſsly for the purpoſe of negotiating on theſe principles.

On the entrance of Dumouriez into the adminiſtration, the ſame agent was continued, and the new miniſter always treated him with candour and good faith; but he

* Miniſter-plenipotentiary from the emperor in the Auſtrian Low Countries, now termed Belgium.—*Tranſ.*

found

found an aſtoniſhing difference between this *indirect* negotiation, and the direct one with the court of Vienna and the ambaſſadour from France. His predeceſſor had juſt been ſacrificed on account of the little dignity which he had diſcovered in his correſpondence, which in addition to this was replete with timidity and chicanery, while that of the miniſters of the emperor was harſh, ſevere, and haughty.

He communicated to the king the overtures made by Mr. de Metternich, and the diſpatches of Mr. de Noailles. That prince was alſo ſtruck with the diſcordancy between the manner in which the Auſtrian miniſter at Vienna, and the Auſtrian miniſter at Bruſſels, choſe to negotiate. The cataſtrophe of Leſſart not only affected the intereſts of Louis, and menaced his ſucceſſor with the ſame fate, if he followed the ſame political line of conduct, but it kept the aſſembly on the watch, and made it extremely attentive leſt the honour and ſafety of the nation ſhould be again betrayed; and at this epoch, the court of Vienna had afforded ſo many proofs of its ill-will, and

was

was ſo lofty in its replies, that it might be already conſidered in the light of a declared enemy.

The emigrants, armed and regimented, were at this very moment quartered at Ath *, whence they had made a vain attempt to ſurpriſe the citadel of Valenciennes. A battalion of infantry had at the ſame time deſerted from Dunkirk, and carried off the military cheſt and its colours. This *corps* received a hearty welcome in the Low Countries, and no part of the property it carried away was ever reſtored.

A congreſs was announced at Aix-la-Chapelle, at which the emigrants pretended the fate of France was to be decided. Not only did the court of Vienna throw every poſſible obſtacle in the way of negotiations for granting an indemnification to the German princes for their claims in Alſace, but it even threatened to get them annulled by the diet of the empire, and it excited the circles to make a common cauſe on this occaſion, and thus depart from their neutrality.

* A town in the *heretofore* Auſtrian Hainault.—*Tranſ.*

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The nomination of the new miniſters ſeemed to redouble its virulence. Ill informed, and equally deceived by the emigrants and the intriguers of Paris, relative to their characters, it conſidered the appointment of them as a triumph on the part of the Jacobin faction, againſt whom the prince de Kaunitz had juſt publiſhed a libel, which, ſo far from hurting, only ſerved to render them more important.

The king appeared to regret Leſſart. His ſucceſſor, on the day after his appointment, had gone to the Jacobin club, where he had been decorated with the *red bonnet*; from that moment he was conſidered as a furious Jacobin, with whom it would be highly improper to treat.

Notwithſtanding this, as he was bent on the attainment of his object, and wiſhed to bring the negotiation to that point of dignity and mutual reſpect, which belonged to two great powers, he thought fit to purſue a line of conduct exactly oppoſite to that which had been followed by Montmorin and Leſſart; and accordingly, in a frank and candid diſpatch, he expoſed the true

true intereſts of each, in order to put a period to the paſſions and intrigues which had taken place. The diſpatch was received with an ill grace, and Mr. de Noailles, who was a weak man and a Machiaveliſt, although he garbled this ſtate paper, yet could not even then obtain an explanation.

Dumouriez ought inſtantly to have recalled the ambaſſadour, who in addition to this was a *counter-revolutioniſt*. In conſequence of a condeſcenſion which he deemed uſeful, but which did not tend to any good purpoſe, he allowed him to remain in place; he however diſpatched a courier to him with orders to demand an explanation, and a categorical anſwer, which he was to tranſmit by the ſame meſſenger. He was afraid, leſt the court of Vienna ſhould take umbrage at his recalling Mr. de Noailles, and refuſe to receive his ſucceſſor: in this caſe a war would have been inevitable.

Could the anſwer of Mr. de Kaunitz be ſhown in any degree to the national aſſembly, in order to ſoften his laſt diſpatch to the unfortunate Leſſart, Dumouriez depended on being able to connect the negotiation at Vienna

Vienna with that of the Low Countries, and thus ſucceed in pacifying every thing. But ſince the late change of the miniſtry in France, Mr. de Kaunitz no longer deigned to treat in his own perſon with the ambaſſadour, and had actually reſigned this taſk to Mr. de Cobentzl. In ſhort, the only anſwer was a letter from Mr. de Noailles, informing him, that conſidering the certainty of being unable to alter the reſolution of the court of Vienna, he begged that he would procure the king's conſent to his reſignation.

This reſolution, whether it proceeded from timidity or diſinclination on the part of Mr. de Noailles, being adopted at a period when, conformably to his orders, he ought to have exhibited firmneſs and promptitude in his negotiations with the prince de Kaunitz, rendered a reconciliation impoſſible. For more than a month the aſſembly, and indeed the whole nation, was uneaſy reſpecting the haughty and hoſtile conduct of the court of Vienna, and this circumſtance affected the king's intereſt, on account of the repugnance which he had diſplayed at ſacrificing Leſſart, whom they conſidered a traitor,

traitor, from the ſucceſſion of petty conſpiracies in the capital, and the frequent departure of private couriers belonging to the Thuilleries, for Vienna and Coblentz.

Continual demands were made on the miniſter for foreign affairs relative to the progreſs of the negotiation: he was at length obliged to announce, that he had diſpatched a courier who was to bring back a categorical anſwer, and put an end to the perplexity of a nation juſtly irritated at the contempt it experienced on the part of its ally.

The people, on one hand, attributed to the court of Vienna the more than equivocal and extremely imprudent conduct of the unfortunate queen; and, on the other, they accuſed her majeſty of being the author of the haughty and hoſtile demeanour of the court of Vienna, and they in general believed in the exiſtence of an *Auſtrian committee*, of which it was ſaid that Montmorin was the principal agent; and they ſuſpected him to be directed intirely by the *Feuillans*. There were not any proofs as to the

the reality of this committee, but the preſumptions were very ſtrong.

At this epoch the *Feuillans* were openly reconciled to the court, and made a common cauſe with it againſt the national aſſembly, which, as well as the miniſtry, they affected to confound under the odious denomination of Jacobins.

Lafayette, the oſtenſible leader of this faction, had the imprudent vanity to cauſe his perſon to be adorned with the *red riband*, and conſtantly appeared at that very court, which he himſelf had ſo recently *incommoded*. The Lameths, againſt whom Louis XVI had ſuch juſt grounds of complaints, and who but ſix months before were the moſt bitter enemies of Lafayette, happened at this moment to be the ſupporters and directors both of this general and the court. Every body imagined, that they diſcovered in this coalition of intriguers a plan of a counter-revolution, and being well perſuaded that the court of Vienna formed their principal ſupport, the public waited with impatience to be informed of its ultimate reſolutions.

Such was the diſpoſition of men's minds

when the long expected courier returned with the mean or perfidious reſignation of Mr. de Noailles.

Dumouriez went inſtantly to the king, and informed him of the opinion of the nation, and his own danger; he at the ſame time told him, that it was impoſſible to hide from the aſſembly the reſignation of Mr. de Noailles, the neceſſity of nominating another miniſter, and the unpromiſing ſtate of the negotiation. The king allowed the juſtice of the obſervation.

On this the miniſter no longer concealed from him, that the whole weight of national reſentment would fall upon his majeſty and the queen; but he added, that, if he were really diſpoſed to prove the rectitude of his intentions and the falſity of the exiſtence of an Auſtrian committee, he ought now to act a part which would completely reſtore to him the confidence of the people, and counteract all the intrigues not only of thoſe who ſurrounded him, but alſo of the emigrants, who bewildered the court of Vienna in reſpect to its true intereſts: this was to write a letter with his own hand to

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the emperor, and ſend it by an ambaſſadour extraordinary, who was to replace Mr. de Noailles.

The king adopted this advice with an appearance of the utmoſt confidence, and even gratitude; he accordingly drew up a very argumentative letter, the whole of which was written with his own hand, and he approved of the choice of Emanuel de Maulde for this extraordinary miſſion.

Dumouriez alſo prepared the inſtructions for this miniſter, and pointed out certain articles relative to which he was to demand a preciſe anſwer.

In caſe of a refuſal, Louis XVI was ſheltered from all reproach, ſhould the peace be broken; and if not, this line of conduct would diſplay on one hand his moderation, and on the other his dignity in ſuſtaining the honour of his crown. This letter could not be ſuſpected of being forced from him, ſince it was entirely voluntary on his part, and was wholly of his own compoſition; it demonſtrated that he was *free, and a king*, notwithſtanding the falſe aſſertion of the emigrants; therefore it might poſſibly alter

the diſpoſition of the court of Vienna, by proving the ſpontaneous agreement of Louis with the nation.

As ſoon as the miniſter was provided with this paper, he repaired to the aſſembly, where he read his diſpatches to Mr. de Noailles, the feeble replies of that miniſter, his laſt orders, and the reſignation of the ambaſſadour; the members were ſhocked, and precipitately launched a decree of accuſation againſt the miniſter at Vienna.

Dumouriez afterwards gave an account of the part which the king had taken of his own proper motion, and then read the letter from this monarch to the emperor. This was much applauded, and all the honeſt men in the aſſembly were well pleaſed with Louis, who by means of five or ſix ſimilar actions would have entirely regained their confidence.

But all the trouble taken by the miniſter to recover the love and confidence of the nation, was rendered ineffectual by the activity of the intriguers. It was Penelope's web: the court undid during the night all the labours of the day.

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De Maulde was prepared to ſet off the very next morning, when a ſecond courier arrived from Mr. de Noailles, two days after the former. This plenipotentiary had reconſidered the offer of his reſignation; he had in ſhort reſolved to renew the negotiation with the court of Vienna, and require a categorical anſwer to the urgent demands of the miniſter for foreign affairs.

The reply was contained in a note from Mr. de Cobentzl. It was dry, ſhort, and harſh; it alſo impoſed conditions on the French nation. Thus, in caſe that this nation either could not, or would not accept of theſe conditions, the note in queſtion was actually a declaration of war; and it is in this that the Auſtrian miniſtry were inexcuſable, if the court of Vienna, as it has ſince affirmed, wiſhed to preſerve peace, and maintain the alliance.

Theſe conditions were: the re-eſtabliſhment of the monarchy on the baſis of the royal ſeſſion of Louis XVI, held on June 23, 1789, conſequently the re-eſtabliſhment of the nobility and clergy as orders.

The reſtitution of the property of the clergy

clergy, and of the lands in Alſace to the German princes, with all the rights of ſovereignty and feudality, and alſo of Avignon and the Venaiſſin.

In truth, if the court of Vienna had been aſleep during the whole of the thirty-three months which had elapſed ſince the royal ſeſſion, and at its awaking from its ſlumber had dictated this note, it could not have propoſed any conditions more inconſiſtent with the bent of the revolution.

The nation had adopted a conſtitution; the king, either by force or good will, had acceded to it. This new ſocial compact, whether right or wrong, was founded on the abolition of orders, and the equality of citizens. The ſyſtem of finance, which could alone prevent a bankruptcy, was bottomed on the creation of *aſſignats*. The *aſſignats* were iſſued on the faith of the ſecurity held out by the property of the clergy, now become national property, and the greater part of it was already ſold.

The nation therefore could not accept of theſe conditions unleſs it choſe to annihilate its conſtitution, confound the idea of property,

property, ruin the purchaſers, annul the *aſſignats*, and declare itſelf in a ſtate of bankruptcy. Could ſuch an humiliating obedience be expected on the part of a great people, proud of having conquered its liberty; and this too, for the purpoſe of placing itſelf once more under the tyranny of the nobles, who, having abandoned even their king, threatened to return to their native country, and carry fire and ſword and all the ſcourges of their vengeance along with them; for uſeleſs parliaments; and for the dignified clergy, who were already but too haughty?

Beſides, by what right did the court of Vienna pretend to impoſe theſe conditions? What pretext had it to interfere in the diſcuſſion of a territorial diſpute between France and the Pope, and between France and the German princes? But ſtill, if theſe conditions, inadmiſſible as they were, had been preſented in a conciliatory and becoming manner, a regular diſcuſſion of them could have taken place, and the court of Vienna might have acted the part, not of an arbiter, but of a mediator between the king and the nation.

Even the very form of this note was inſulting both in reſpect to the king, whom it affected to conſider in a ſtate of nullity, and to the nation, which it treated as if in open rebellion, while it at the ſame time conſidered the aſſembly as illegal.

It is wrong therefore to throw the blame of the declaration of war on general Dumouriez. He had, from the very beginning, laboured to commence a negotiation by means of the count de Metternich, and it was not his fault that the ſcheme did not ſucceed. Afterwards, to repair the injuries ſuffered by the king, in conſequence of the humiliating tergiverſations of the two former miniſters Montmorin and Leſſart, he had negotiated conformably to the ſyſtem of frankneſs and of dignity becoming two great powers, equally intereſted in the preſervation of peace, and the continuance of their alliance;—the only anſwer he received was the moſt contemptuous ſilence.

When Mr. de Noailles, by the ill-timed offer of his reſignation, appeared to deſpair of the ſucceſs of the negotiation, the miniſter prevailed upon the king to addreſs a letter

a letter directly to the emperor, in order to put an end to the *machiaveliſm* of his miniſters. The note from Mr. de Cobentzl happened to arrive at this moment, and deprived him of the benefit of this laſt reſource, as it dictated laws to which a free nation could not accede.

Let the world determine impartially on what ſide the aggreſſion lay. All the papers are in print. Dumouriez, who has been always very diſcreet relative to the petty intrigues of the court, which would have only tended to irritate the people, had they been made known, thought then, and ſtill continues to think, that every great negotiation, which is connected with the happineſs and the tranquillity of two or more nations, ought to be rendered as public as poſſible, and that myſtery at ſuch a period is a ſpecies of high treaſon againſt both kings and nations. With the conſent of the king, and in his preſence, and for that prince's juſtification and his own, he therefore rendered an account to the aſſembly of the conduct of the court of Verſailles in a well known report. Let theſe ſtate papers be collected

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for hiſtory, and meditated upon, and then let mankind finally decide.

The very report in queſtion proves, that Dumouriez, although driven to his laſt ſhift, ſtill held forth the means of renewing the negotiations; and although this was delivered in the name of Louis XVI, yet he was diſcharged from the reſponſibility attendant on a poſitive declaration, for the inferences to be drawn from it, are not *that the nation ought to declare war*, but that it ought *to conſider itſelf as in a ſtate of war*.

It was even poſſible, that the aſſembly might ſtill be of opinion, that the ambaſſadour extraordinary ſhould proceed to Vienna with the letter written by the king and addreſſed to the emperor in perſon, a meaſure of which it had formerly approved; and in this caſe, the negotiation would not even then have been totally deſperate. Dumouriez could not as miniſter ſuggeſt this idea in his report; he however communicated it to ſeveral of the leading members of the diplomatic committee: but their indignation was ſo great on hearing the conditions exacted by the court of Vienna, that it became

came utterly impoſſible to carry this plan into effect; it would indeed have ſerved no other purpoſe than to have unneceſſarily involved the king with the Auſtrian miniſtry, who were miſled by the falſe aſſertions of the too culpable, and too unhappy emigrants.

CHAP. II.

Declaration of War.

THE moment that the note arrived from Vienna, Dumouriez carried it to the king. He told his majeſty at the ſame time, that it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould communicate it to the national aſſembly, were it for no other purpoſe than to juſtify Mr. de Noailles, and procure a repeal of the decree of accuſation, which had been launched againſt this ambaſſadour.

The king having approved of the idea, Dumouriez accordingly repaired to the aſſembly, which heard with indignation a note that, to ſay nothing elſe, was at leaſt imprudent. Every body exclaimed, that it was neceſſary to avenge the glory of the nation, and from that moment war appeared to be the general wiſh. The decree againſt

againſt Mr. de Noailles was immediately repealed, although it was evident, that the firſt ſtep taken by that ambaſſadour was highly improper.

The miniſter informed the king of the ſentiments excited by the note, and then returned home, to draw up a report of the whole negotiation with the court of Vienna. He could not however take any notice of the treaty with Metternich; it was not authentic; it had been carried on by the intervention of third perſons, and would only have added to the irritation of men's minds, which were already but too much ſoured, on account of the appearance of duplicity which would have attached either to Mr. de Metternich, or the cabinet of Vienna.

He ſelected thoſe facts only which were ſupported by authentic documents; he even concealed the confidential letters written by Mr. de Noailles, as well to his predeceſſor as himſelf, and at the end of a few days, he carried the fruit of his labours to the king, who kept the papers during three whole

whole days, and made ſeveral corrections with his own hand.

It was at this period, that ſome diſcuſſions took place between him and the Gironde: they wiſhed him to draw up his report in uniſon with their ſentiments, and were deſirous that he ſhould enter into metaphyſical diſcuſſions entirely foreign to the buſineſs in hand. In ſhort, they were anxious that he ſhould produce a rhetorical and logical compoſition. He however told them in a deciſive tone, that this ſtate paper was not intended for the French nation alone, but for all Europe, and that he wiſhed it to be comprehended without the aſſiſtance of the *new dictionary*, which was not yet publiſhed. This pleaſantry diſconcerted them.

The king himſelf, according to the conſtitutional decrees, muſt appear in the aſſembly, at the head of his council, at the time of the report, and they wiſhed at leaſt to compoſe the diſcourſe that was to be ſpoken by him on that occaſion. A native of Geneva, a man of great talents, drew up a very long oration, replete with metaphyſical

diſcuſſions, into which Louis could not naturally enter. Another prepared a ſecond, ſhorter indeed, but which would have been entirely miſplaced in the mouth of the king. Dumouriez received them both, and ſaid that he would ſubmit them to his majeſty's conſideration.

The great diſpute between him and the members of the Gironde, as well as with the miniſters Roland and Clavieres, was relative to the concluſion. They pretended, that, according to the terms of the decree, while ſpeaking in the king's name, he ought to conclude by demanding a declaration of war: in truth the text appeared to be on their ſide. He, on the other hand, maintained that the ſpirit of the decree did not apply, to the preſent ſtate of affairs; that the king had ſo many enemies, that he could not act with too much prudence; that to pronounce a declaration of war was a ſtep too delicate for him to undertake; that it would be highly proper not to ſhut the door, either againſt new negotiations, the repentance of the princes, or the return of the emigrants: in fact, he had inſerted a paſſage in

in his report, in which he exhorted them to repair to and fight under the banners of France, in a cauſe with which the honour of the nation and the king was ſo intimately connected. As he deemed this highly proper, he forewarned the king, that, on its being read before the council, a diſcuſſion was likely to enſue relative to the concluſion, and he requeſted his majeſty not to yield the point.

Two extraordinary councils were held in ſucceſſion, and a diſpute accordingly took place. Lacoſte, Degraves, and Dumouriez, ſupported the argument in favour of a *ſtate of war*; the king remained firm, and the paſſage was left exactly in the words penned by the miniſter.

He alſo informed his majeſty about the two copies of an oration, which he had been charged to preſent to him; the prince took them, but he himſelf compoſed a very ſhort and a very ſage diſcourſe, which he afterwards pronounced with great facility.

On the 20th of April, Louis XVI repaired at the head of his council to the national aſſembly. All France felt how intereſting

tereſting this ſeſſion was likely to prove. The hall was full. The preſident had given orders that the utmoſt decorum ſhould be preſerved, and that no one ſhould expreſs either his approbation, or diſapprobation. The king was very majeſtic: after pronouncing his diſcourſe, he liſtened with the utmoſt attention to the miniſter's report, and appeared by the motions of his head and hand, to approve every part of it. He then departed, and Dumouriez, who had accompanied him out, returned ſoon after to the aſſembly, where he was greatly applauded; the ſitting continued during the whole day. The time occupied in deliberation was not however long, and the wiſh for war was unanimous. Not a ſingle Feuillant dared to expreſs a contrary ſentiment.

The miniſter was ſoon after ſent to the diplomatic committee, to aſſiſt in drawing up the decree. At ten o'clock at night it was preſented and paſſed, and was then carried to the king, who immediately ſanctioned it.

Neither the king, nor the miniſter, nor

the aſſembly, could have purſued any other line of conduct than that adopted by them. The king by theſe means acquired ſecurity and the reſtoration of public confidence, which in truth was but momentary, becauſe new intrigues, and other unfortunate circumſtances, produced mutual ſuſpicion and diſcord. The miniſter could not, without betraying the honour and intereſts of the nation, and expoſing the king, ſuffer the people to remain any longer ignorant of the facts. He had fairly calculated the conſequences; but it was an evil without a remedy, and it was better to be in an open ſtate of warfare, than to remain expoſed to a perfidious and dangerous peace.

The aſſembly, which, as well as the king and the nation, had been inſulted, being backed by the general voice, for there was not a ſingle department or diſtrict that did not evince the utmoſt deſire for war, would have been ruined and diſhonoured, if it had heſitated a moment as to the declaration of hoſtilities.

The proclamation which followed, produced a general joy throughout all France.

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The open protection afforded to the emigrants had irritated the nation, which expected that they would henceforth become leſs dangerous, and this accordingly happened. It was alſo hoped,

1°. That the factions would ceaſe, and that the love of their country would reunite all the French againſt a foreign enemy;

2°. This enemy was the cabinet of Vienna, whence they were perſuaded came all thoſe councils by which the French court had been directed ever ſince the arrival of the queen, but more eſpecially ſince the revolution; and they conſidered the declaration of war as the ſciſſars that were to cut all the wiſhes of theſe dangerous and multiplied intrigues, which, either right or wrong, they attributed to the court;

And 3°. It was expected that the war would entice from Paris, and the other great cities, a number of turbulent men, who, from want of employment, diſturbed the public tranquillity, and fomented diſcord.

It was not until a few days afterwards that the Feuillans dared to avow their

enmity to the declaration; they then began to argue after the manner of the ſchools, by obſerving, that this was *an offenſive act*, and that the conſtitution did not permit any other than *a defenſive war*. Theſe ſophiſms were puerile in themſelves, and at the ſame time replete with injuſtice; however nearly all the conſtitutional party adopted them, and ſome general officers ſent in their reſignations.

Certainly nothing could be more defenſive than this declaration of war; it was calculated to repel the injuries of a court, which had told France that its king was a priſoner; that all the acts done by the nation ſince 1789 were illegal; that its conſtitution was abſurd and unjuſt; and that itſelf was in a ſtate of rebellion: in addition to all this, the cabinet of Vienna at the very ſame time permitted a party to arm within its territories, and on its frontiers, which had refuſed to obey the king and the nation.

Thoſe very men who now affected ſuch a critical ſophiſtry, but two years before had decreed the armament of forty-five ſail of the

the line againſt England, which had not attacked us, in ſupport of Spain, and that too on account of the moſt frivolous of all poſſible cauſes, the eſtabliſhment of a Britiſh factory in a frozen corner in the neighbourhood of the northern pole, five thouſand leagues diſtant from France, which was not in the leaſt intereſted in the diſpute, and all this under the pretext of a *family compact*, which the conſtitution muſt one day neceſſarily reform and annihilate.

The diſpute indeed was unjuſt in its own nature, for the bull of Alexander VI did not confer an excluſive privilege on the Spaniards relative to the Pacific Ocean, where, in fact, there are ſtill many iſlands not yet either conquered or diſcovered; and the Engliſh, like any other nation, have a natural right to form an eſtabliſhment in any part not already occupied by the ſubjects of Spain. This declamation about an offenſive and defenſive war was a mere cavil, worthy of the bad faith and the frivolity of that party.

Lafayette did not at firſt adopt it, but ſeemed to be prepared to perform with

fidelity that great character, in which the war enabled him to appear. He was the beſt ſtationed, the youngeſt, and conſequently ought to be the moſt active of the three generals. How many evils would he have prevented, had he not afterwards permitted himſelf to be ſeduced by the ſophiſms of the intriguers!

Another claſs of factious men at this period connected themſelves with this party, which according to them was at once *violent and raſh*, and theſe never reproached Dumouriez, until events had proved that they were deceived in their calculations; theſe were the decided *ariſtocrats* both within and without the kingdom. They anticipated, in conſequence of the war, their ſpeedy return to their native country, and the immediate re-eſtabliſhment of the old government. They imagined that France could not reſiſt the united ſtrength of Pruſſia and Auſtria. No one was then acquainted with the immenſe reſources of a free and brave people, among whom liberty was about to render all its citizens ſoldiers.

Aſſuredly, if the emperor and the king of

Pruſſia had but foreſeen, that this nation would have been able to have oppoſed all Europe, they would not have intermeddled in its internal diſputes; they would have treated the emigrants with compaſſion, without beſtowing their confidence upon them; and they would have ſympathiſed with the frank and open manner of negotiation adopted by the miniſter: the revolution would then have been achieved without the commiſſion of any cruelties; the neighbouring powers would have remained in peace, and France would have been happy.

After having proved by inconteſtable evidence, that as miniſter he had uſed every effort in his power to prevent the war, and that he had not participated in its declaration, until forced to do ſo; Dumouriez is too much the friend of truth not to avow, that he was deſirous, as a Frenchman, that his native country ſhould at length adopt this, which was indeed the only noble and becoming part; and that he would have conſidered her as cowardly and unworthy of liberty, had ſhe any longer tolerated the

diſdainful conduct, and the hoſtile diſpoſi-poſition of the court of Vienna.

In truth it was only anticipating this court, and forcing the ſtorm to burſt before it had become dangerous. The princes were arming; they had levied a *corps* of houſehold troops, and ſeveral regiments; theſe were not intended to remain idle. Several of the German courts protected them, permitted magazines to be formed on their territories, and allowed of a ſtill more criminal tranſaction, that of the fabrication and diſtribution of forged aſſignats.

The cabinets of Vienna and Berlin deliberated on the means of putting an end to the revolution in France, firſt at Reichenbach, and afterwards at Pilnitz; neither recogniſing the king of France as free, nor the French people as a nation.

They announced a congreſs at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was to operate againſt France, in the ſame manner as that of Berlin in 1772 did in reſpect to Poland, and that of the Hague in 1790 in reſpect to the Low Countries,

It was therefore prudent to diſconcert all theſe manœuvres; to afford no time for the collecting of an emigrant army on the frontiers; to prevent the forming of a ſtrong league againſt France; to diſmember Auſtria, and to carry the war into her own territories, while the Belgians were as yet in a ſituation to hold up their heads, notwithſtanding their recent ſubmiſſion; to throw embarraſſments in her way that would occupy all her attention; and perhaps extinguiſh the ſpirit of faction in France, by directing the national impetuoſity towards external objects.

It was not until after exhauſting all poſſible means of pacification, that Dumouriez was convinced of the neceſſity of coming to a prompt deciſion. He would indeed have been better pleaſed, had the cabinet of Vienna perceived, that its true intereſt conſiſted in an agreement with revolutionary France; that a ſolid conſtitution was more conformable to its alliance than an arbitrary government, which would reduce it to a dependence on the caprice of a frivolous court; that the ill ſucceſs of the ſeven years war had proceeded

ceeded from the bad conduct of the French government while under the influence of Pompadour; that during the war of 1778 and 1779, it was not able to attain any aſſiſtance from its ally; and that ſo powerful a nation governed deſpotically, and that too by frivolous characters, is likely to prove but a bad neighbour. From all this it appears, that either the court of Vienna ought not to have intermeddled at all, or appeared only in the capacity of an impartial mediator. What a noble part might Leopold have acted!

CHAP. III.

Plan of the Campaign.

LONG before his entrance into adminiſtration, and even at the time he was employed in la Vendée, Dumouriez had conſidered a foreign war as inevitable, and according to cuſtom had reflected on the means of attack and defence, beſt adapted to his native country. The moment he learned, that three armies were forming along the frontiers, from Switzerland to Dunkirk, and that Narbonne, the miniſter at war, was about to viſit the garriſons, he had no longer any doubt, but this was done expreſsly with the intention to make uſe of all his official influence to haſten the preparations. He had accordingly written from Niort, to prevail upon him to force the electors of Treves and Mayence to

to iſſue immediate orders for the diſperſion and ſale of the magazines provided in their reſpective territories, for the uſe of the princes; he alſo adviſed him to purchaſe them, not that France was actually in any want of them, but that their removal might not be conſidered as an act of violence, which however would have been very excuſable in the preſent inſtance, and could not be conſidered in any other light than that of a defenſive meaſure, when it was proved to theſe ſovereigns, that the magazines in queſtion were intended for the rebels, which might have been very eaſily done.

On his being ſoon after appointed a lieutenant-general, and ſummoned to Paris, he had preſented both to this miniſter, and his ſucceſſor Degraves, a plan of operations for the South, conſiſting of two parts. The firſt comprehending the ſyſtem of war which he thought ought to be followed; and this was, to remain decidedly in a defenſive poſition in all places where mountains, ſuch as the Alps and the Pyrenees, the ſea, or a river like the Rhine, preſented a natural barrier,

rier, and to adopt offenſive operations every where elſe.

According to this ſcheme, as he had no manner of doubt but any particular would lead to a general warfare, he had not ſuggeſted the adoption of offenſive meaſures but in two points: on the ſide of Italy, in order to ſeize on all the territories of the king of Sardinia as far as the Alps, in caſe that monarch ſhould be induced to declare himſelf our enemy, a circumſtance extremely likely; but in this quarter, our offenſive operations ought to be very much narrowed, and the moment that Savoy and the county of Nice ſhould be occupied, we ought once more to return to the defenſive ſyſtem.

The other part pointed out by him for offenſive operations, was the Low Countries. The Belgians and inhabitants of Liege had been with ſome difficulty ſubdued, after having attempted a revolution which had preceded ours. They were ſtill diſcontented, becauſe in a caſe like this, whatever prudence may be diſplayed by the ſovereign, who ſubjects a people that wiſhes to withdraw itſelf from his authority, it muſt

muſt always happen, more eſpecially at firſt, that he will conſider the people as rebels, while he in his turn will be looked upon as an oppreſſor. Suſpicion naturally ſubſiſts for a long time between the governor and the governed, and the ſpark that is dormant, but not extinguiſhed, needs only a breath, perhaps, to rekindle the flame. This was exactly the caſe with the Low Countries. The number of the diſcontented was conſiderable. The diſmantling of the fortifications and the rupture of the barrier treaty had prepared the Belgic provinces to receive the law from France, becauſe there was nothing to protect them from an invaſion. Belgium was rich and fertile, and its inhabitants, who were diſſatisfied, appeared to ſolicit our aſſiſtance; in ſhort, whether friendly or unfriendly, it was wiſe to ſelect this as the firſt theatre of the war, on purpoſe to anticipate the houſe of Auſtria, which no longer kept any terms with us.

Narbonne, on his return from his journey, had announced to the aſſembly, that the frontier towns were in a ſtate of defence, the

the magazines full, and the three armies ready to take the field. His ſucceſſor Degraves had made the ſame aſſertions. Beſides, but little preparation was at preſent neceſſary for the attack of the Auſtrian Netherlands. The emperor had not more than thirty thouſand men there. The country was every where open and fertile, and the people expected us with impatience: as a proof of this, it is to be recollected, that they received us with joy ſix months after, notwithſtanding the ſhameful diſaſters accompanying our firſt attempts.

Accordingly at the epoch of the declaration of war, all that was neceſſary for the ſucceſs of this invaſion, was to employ celerity rather than method, ſo that time might not be given to the emperor to ſend troops thither; to direct the columns in ſuch a manner that there ſhould be an exact correſpondence between their movements, and above all things to treat the inhabitants as the brethren of liberty, that they might be afterwards induced to co-operate in the defence of the country, and thus double our ſtrength.

The

The miniſter Degraves, with much knowledge, was yet deficient in point of experience, and he was noble minded enough to confeſs it; he accordingly beſtowed his confidence on his colleague Dumouriez, who traced out a plan for the campaign, that beſt correſponded with exiſting circumſtances.

The marſhal de Rochambeau commanded the northern army. When the garriſons were draughted (and there was no manner of occaſion for their being ſtrong, ſince the operations were to take place in front of them) he might be able to form a *corps* of thirty or thirty-five thouſand effective men.

Lafayette, who headed the central army, could ſcarcely have more than twenty or twenty-five thouſand troops at his diſpoſal, becauſe he was obliged to act at a greater diſtance from the fortified places, and was conſequently obliged to leave ſtronger garriſons in them. Thus Dumouriez reckoned, that the firſt movement for the ſeizure of the Low Countries would take place with a force of about fifty or ſixty thouſand men; and this was more than neceſſary.

But Rochambeau was one of thoſe who had teſtified the greateſt averſion to the new miniſter, and alſo to the declaration of war. He had plainly told Dumouriez that he was a *fool*, and that he might avoid tranſacting buſineſs with either him or Degraves, whoſe youth apparently did not inſpire him with much confidence; he had ſet out in a pet for his command.

This general had diſplayed much ſkill in the art of war, and poſſeſſed great experience; but age had blunted his faculties, and an habitual ſtate of ill-health had deprived him of all his activity. Irritated, diſcontented with every thing about him, an enemy to the revolution, although it had made him a marſhal of France, and beſet by the Feuillans, ſome of whom were his general officers, he had announced that diſcipline was entirely reſtored among the troops; he afterwards experienced the contrary, and found that it was impoſſible to depend upon an army, whoſe confidence neither himſelf nor thoſe under him had obtained. This has been the ſole motive by which the French ſoldiery have been at all

times influenced, but more eſpecially ſince they began to encourage a ſyſtematical diſorganization, falſely regarding military licence as the Ægis of public liberty.

Lafayette, younger and more ambitious, had made himſelf beloved by his army, which was in better order. He at that time concealed the opinion which he has ſince diſcloſed relative to the declaration of war, becauſe he perceived that it opened to him a brilliant career, and enabled him to act a conſpicuous part, which would conduct him naturally to the dictatorſhip. Neither his numerous partiſans, nor the *Feuillans*, who ſupported his intereſts, made any ſecret of his ambitious views. From their execution would have reſulted the diſmiſſion of the national aſſembly, the return of the conſtitutional party, and the adoption of the new ſyſtem of the two chambers. But this change could not be effected without the aſſiſtance of the army, and theſe grand projects were now counteracted by a foreign war.

Whether from ambition, or diſſimulation, Lafayette readily acquieſced in the plan of the campaign

campaign chalked out by Dumouriez; they concerted meaſures together with the utmoſt cordiality, and agreed on the time and manner of the execution; but he propoſed to this miniſter, as Rochambeau was not only chagrined, but in a bad ſtate of health, that he himſelf ſhould be entruſted, as commander in chief, with the execution of the project; he accordingly demanded fifty thouſand men, with whom he was to enter the Low Countries by Namur, and deſcend along the banks of the Meuſe as far as Liege, which would render him completely maſter of the Netherlands.

This plan was a good one, and Dumouriez really thought that Lafayette would have ſucceeded in carrying it into effect; but the conduct purſued by this general ſince his return to Paris, his unnatural connection with the court after having been ſo long its ſcourge, his ſudden coalition with the party of the Lameths, which had formerly ruined him in the opinion of the nation, but at that moment looked up to him as its leader: all this had rendered him

equally ſuſpected by the national aſſembly and the Jacobins.

The latter already deemed it improper that he ſhould be entruſted with the command of a body of troops; and if he had been inveſted with the whole military authority, the miniſter would have paſſed for a *Feuillant*, and the aſſembly would have proceeded to extremities againſt the king, Lafayette, and the adminiſtration, ſooner than ſuffer it.

Beſides this, there were two marſhals of France. If Rochambeau were too feeble, and too ſickly to act, there was not the ſame objection againſt Luckner. In ſhort, Dumouriez himſelf had not ſo great an opinion of the character and talents of Lafayette, as to run ſuch deſperate riſks in his behalf. He had always ſhown himſelf indecilive, verſatile, and rather cunning than able, when he acted the principal character during the three firſt years of the revolution. He poſſeſſed talents and knowledge, but he was deſtitute of that genius which hurries mankind along with it; and whatever

ever might be his ambition, nature had condemned him to mediocrity.

He accordingly refuſed him the chief command; notwithſtanding this he left him room for hope, and this too without deceiving him. The moment that the invaſion of the Low Countries was accompliſhed, Rochambeau would naturally return to France, on account of the bad ſtate of his health; Lafayette therefore would then find himſelf intruſted with the command in, and the defence of the Netherlands, a circumſtance which muſt quickly lead to his being created a marſhal of France.

Lafayette affected an air of content, and diſſembled his reſentment. He even aſſumed the appearance of acting with good faith until the epoch of the diſaſtrous events that occurred ſoon after, for it was not till then that he openly declared his ſentiments. But Jaucourt, one of the *right ſide* of the aſſembly, that is to ſay a *Feuillant*, a member of the military committee, and the general's particular friend, frequently renewed this claim. Dumas, who was of the

ſame party; and who had become the declared enemy of the miniſter, although he eſteemed him, and took every occaſion to afford him proofs of his regard, alſo backed this requeſt in an underhand manner, and all of them became more bitter againſt Dumouriez after his refuſal.

According to the plan of the campaign, which was extremely ſimple, there were to be two real, and two falſe attacks. Lafayette, with a detachment of ten thouſand men, which was to be followed by the reſt of his army, was to have filed off by Givet, and taken poſſeſſion of Namur, where at that time there was only a ſingle battalion of Walloons, more than the half of which had entered into a conſpiracy to deſert on the appearance of the French. Thence he was to have marched towards Bruſſels or Liege, for the firſt operation alone was preſcribed to him; as to every thing elſe, he was at liberty to follow his own judgment. This movement was to be executed between the 30th of April and the 2d of May.

At the ſame period lieutenant-general Biron was to ſet out from Valenciennes with

with ten thouſand men, and to march towards Mons, where the Auſtrian general Beaulieu was poſted with two thouſand five hundred troops, who were reinforced to five thouſand.

A general officer was to be diſpatched on the very ſame day from Liſle, by lieutenant general d'Aumont, with three thouſand ſix hundred men: theſe were to follow the road leading to Tournay, with orders to puſh for that town if they met with no reſiſtance, to place a garriſon in its citadel, and then either to join general Biron, or to execute any orders he might ſend. But it was mentioned in the inſtructions, that if the Belgians did not ſeem friendly, and would not declare themſelves, he was to ſtop at Beſſieux in the territories of France, and at the very extremity of the frontier, becauſe in that caſe, this was only meant as a falſe attack, and therefore the ſafety of the *corps* was not to be endangered.

Carle, a major general and commanding officer of Dunkirk, was alſo to ſally forth at the head of twelve hundred men, and march towards Furnes, to *feel the pulſe* of the Flem-

ings; he was to conduct himſelf agreeably to the progreſs of the other troops, and either to return to Dunkirk, or to remain in the field, and ſtrengthen himſelf by means of new troops.

This general attack was to be made with about forty thouſand troops, which were ſufficient for the firſt operations. The war had only been declared during ten days, and neither orders nor troops could arrive from Vienna for defending the country, which, in addition to this, was extremely well diſpoſed. Had the ſcheme been confided to a man of genius, able, active, and willing, the ſucceſs would have been infallible.

This army was to have been quickly reinforced by more than thirty thouſand infantry, conſiſting of national battalions raiſed during the preceding ſummer in the northern and weſtern departments of France. A ſecond levy was ordered, and the interior in the mean time furniſhed ſeveral regiments of cavalry, which were now approaching Flanders. Thus when the emperor would have aſſembled a body of troops in June or July, with an intention to reconquer

quer the Low Countries, he would have been obliged to oppoſe Lafayette at the head of upwards of ſeventy-five thouſand Frenchmen, and a whole country in a ſtate of inſurrection. In ſhort, this is preciſely the very ſame plan that general Dumouriez himſelf afterwards carried into execution with a greater force indeed, but alſo againſt a more powerful defence.

Lafayette ought to have been well contented with this project, which, without apparently excluding marſhal Rochambeau, would have procured to him the object of all his wiſhes—the chief command; becauſe a lieutenant general and ſome major-generals only were to be detached from the marſhal's army, and who, ſo ſoon as they had entered the Low Countries, would of courſe be under his own orders, and form part of his troops.

Neither had Rochambeau any reaſon to complain. He ſaid that he was ill, and he was really ſo, he therefore did not receive orders to march. He had exhibited great repugnance to ſubmit to the authority of the council, and to adopt its plans. The members

members compoſing it, on the other hand, were cautious not to give him any cauſe of offence, and therefore addreſſed all their commands to the officers under him. However, by way of flattering his ſelf-love, and out of reſpect to his rank, all the orders paſſed through his own hands, to the generals who were to carry them into execution. Indeed they did not conſult him; but he himſelf had occaſioned this excluſion by his declared enmity to the miniſters.

This plan was laid before the council, approved by the king, and clothed with his authority.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Conduct of the Generals,

LAFAYETTE took infinite pains to bring his heavy artillery as far as Givet, and to occupy the camp of Ranſenne by the firſt of May. All his magazines were in the country of Meſſin. As Givet, which ought to have been merely an occaſional camp to facilitate the plan of penetrating to Namur, was afterwards converted by him into a fixed poſition, and that too without any poſſible utility, he became in want of every thing, and his ill-humour began to diſplay itſelf in complaints againſt the miniſtry, and more eſpecially the author of the plan of the campaign, which he had not executed.

This voluntary dereliction of it, on his part, was a fault. The attack on Namur, which

which might have been made on the ſecond of May, was an expedition totally independent of the check which Biron experienced before Mons on the firſt of that month. This very check was even an additional motive for its execution, as he was much ſtronger than the Auſtrians in this quarter, and he might have compenſated by his ſucceſs for the diſgrace of our arms in Flanders. His perſonal glory was even intereſted in it.

If he had taken Namur, as he undoubtedly might have done, he would have become a leader eſſentially neceſſary to the French army, and in that caſe his credit would have been ſo much augmented, that he might then at his eaſe have blamed the miniſtry, nay diſmiſſed, and replaced it with his own creatures, as he did two months afterwards; inſtead of this, having attempted nothing, he appeared to be tender of the enemy, and to reſerve all his courage againſt the council and the Jacobins, whom he ſeemed always to confound together, although their intereſts were very different.

There was not any attack then on the

ſide

ſide of Namur, and that which gave occaſion to believe that Lafayette depended but little on the execution of the plan, is, that inſtead of marching all his army, he had only taken with him ten thouſand men, and cantoned the reſt along the Dun, in the Biſhoprics, at thirty leagues diſtance from his main body.

Biron ſet out from Valenciennes, and encamped at Quievrain on the firſt of May. He was a very brave man, of a mild diſpoſition, an agreeable character, and well affected to the expedition; but he did not poſſeſs great military talents. From Quievrain he proceeded as far as Bouſſu, where general Beaulieu had poſted ſome light troops. He himſelf occupied the heights above Mons with his little army.

Biron had not made any diſpoſition, but no one indeed could have been made ſo as to prevent the unexpected event that occurred. Two regiments of dragoons, without ſeeing the enemy, betook themſelves to flight, exclaiming that they were ſurrounded and betrayed, throwing the infantry at the ſame time into diſorder, and carrying them along

with them. Biron, young Rochambeau, Levaſſeur, *aide-de-camp* of Dumouriez, and ſome other officers, ran into the midſt of them, conjuring them to ſtop, and doing every thing in their power to rally them: the only return they met with was menaces; they were even fired upon. The whole army diſbanded, although it was not purſued by more than five or ſix hundred *Hulans* and chaſſeurs, who pillaged the camp of Quievrain, Biron's baggage, and the military cheſt. The fugitives at length arrived in the utmoſt diſorder at Valenciennes, where adding the moſt criminal licence to the baſeſt terrour, they wiſhed to maſſacre the marſhal de Rochambeau and the general officers. There are but few epochs more diſhonourable for the French ſoldiery.

On the very ſame day and hour major-general Theobald Dillon left Liſle, and arrived at Beſſieux with three thouſand men, one third of whom conſiſted of cavalry; a ſmall body of eight or nine hundred Auſtrians ſallying out of Tournay, came in ſight; on this the horſe uttered the ſame

cries as thoſe of Biron, ruſhed through the body of the infantry, fled as far as Liſle, without being ſo much as purſued, and abandoned the artillery, waggons, and baggage.

Theobald Dillon entered Liſle after the fugitives, and was maſſacred by the ſoldiers, as well as a lieutenant colonel of engineers, a man of merit, of the name of Berthois; their bodies were hung up on a gallows, and the populace joining the ferocious and cowardly troops, committed all kinds of exceſſes, exclaiming at the ſame time that the whole of the officers were *ariſtocrats*.

On comparing theſe two events, which occurred at the ſame hour, the one near Mons, the other in the neighbourhood of Tournay, both of the diſaſters commencing with the flight of the cavalry, under a ſimilar pretext, and accompanied with the very ſame expreſſions, there can be no manner of doubt, but that the whole reſulted from a very dark plot. By whom was it contrived? This is what has hitherto remained unknown.

It was not the intereſt of the Jacobins that

truth is, that with a good will a man may ſurmount difficulties, and that every thing appears an inſurmountable obſtacle, when it is intended that a plan ſhall not ſucceed.

Theſe generals did not conceal the whole, but they only accompliſhed the half of their project. The whole nation took part with the miniſter. The aſſembly, recovering from the firſt impreſſion of terror, eaſily diſcovered the black intrigue, and alſo ſupported him, while the king himſelf beſtowed more marks of his confidence than ever.

It was then that Rochambeau, who really was in a bad ſtate of health, ſent in his reſignation and retired. Dumouriez, reſpecting his age, and eſteeming his talents, had the generoſity to make him an offer of the command of the troops within the kingdom; in which caſe he might have reſided at Paris, and aſſiſted the miniſter at war with his advice; but he refuſed to accept of this ſituation.

Lafayette now thought, that he was about to *inherit* the command of the northern, which he intended to unite with the central

tral army. His friends courted the miniſter on purpoſe to render him favourable; he, without being moved to it by rancour, merely from a ſpirit of juſtice, oppoſed his pretenſions; the whole council, and the king himſelf, were of the ſame opinion. Luckner was a marſhal of France. Lafayette had juſt committed a fault in not attacking Namur, and in permitting his advanced guard to be beaten; and he had alſo made ſeveral uſeleſs marches to approach Maubeuge, on the retreat of the marſhal de Rochambeau. His conduct as a military man did not ſurpaſs mediocrity, and as a ſtateſman it was factious.

This laſt refuſal rendered him the declared enemy of Dumouriez, againſt whom he wrote a letter replete with injuries; it at the ſame time included the whole council, whom he termed the *ſcandalous adminiſtration*. It is ſaid that Baumetz dictated this epiſtle; it was three days in Paris before it made its appearance. Emiſſaries, during this interval, were ſent to Dumouriez, to forewarn him of what was to happen, and if poſſible to intimidate him.

He ſpoke on this ſubject to the unfortunate Rochefoucauld, and told him to adviſe Lafayette to ſuppreſs it; for at this very moment Dumouriez had diſmiſſed Roland and Clavieres from the council, on purpoſe to free the king from their oppreſſion, and he had alſo quarrelled with the Girondiſts and the Jacobins; therefore this letter would evince an ill-timed reſentment, which would rebound on the author himſelf. The rage and folly of his dangerous partiſans made him reject the counſels of Rochefoucauld and of Röderer. This averſion on the part of Lafayette endured but too long, and occaſioned many evils.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Reſignation of Degraves. Servan becomes Miniſter at War. Diſpute with the King of Sardinia.

DEGRAVES had been terrified by the ſhameful commencement of the war. Mild, amiable, and poſſeſſing a feeble ſtate of health, which did not correſpond with his zeal, from the firſt day of his entering into office he found the duty of a miniſter involved in details far exceeding his ſtrength; he had accordingly requeſted an aſſiſtant under the name of *director of the war*, and no department ſtood more in need of one.

Briſſot had recommended a perſon to him who was extremely well informed, at leaſt ſo far as concerned theory; this was Servan, formerly a lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Dauphin infantry, and at that time colonel of one of the regiments of

Paris. He entered into the miniſter's office without any particular deſignation, and under the moſt moderate and moſt diſintereſted appearance, exacted much, and performed little. He was deſcended from a noble parliamentary family of Dauphiné, and had been formerly ſub-governor to the king's pages, from which employment he was diſmiſſed. He then went into the Dauphin's regiment. He pretended that his diſmiſſion proceeded from the freedom of his principles. He was author of a book replete with good ideas, and written with much ability, entitled The *Soldier Citizen*, which indicated conſiderable talents. His appearance was that of a man phlegmatic, reflecting, and auſtere; he was however gentle and flattering in his deportment, but a ſimple and philoſophical outſide concealed great ambition and inſenſibility.

Degraves had formed an acquaintance with a chain of females, who, conducting him from link to link, at laſt connected him with madame de Stael *, ambaſſadreſs from

* The daughter of Mr. Necker.—*Tranſ.*

Sweden,

Sweden, who had become the Circe of the *Feuillans*. As their faction was compoſed of a number of young colonels of the ſame age as himſelf, with whom he had lived in ſome degree of intimacy, Degraves had at firſt very properly broken off all acquaintance with them, in order that he might only occupy his mind with the duties of his place, and maintain a ſtrict impartiality. The moment that the generals had annihilated the plan of the campaign, as much through their own fault as the licentiouſneſs and defection of the army in Flanders, advantage was taken of the habits of the miniſter at war, to beſet, and intimidate him. He beheld the adminiſtration diſcomfited by a powerful faction; he had no confidence in thoſe employed in his own office; he had been deceived by the contractors relative to all the neceſſaries for the army; his enormous reſponſibility affrighted him; he accordingly confided his uneaſineſs to his colleague Dumouriez, with whom he lived on terms of friendſhip, and frequently beſought him to exchange departments.

The latter would have moſt willingly complied

complied with this requeſt, if it had been communicated to him previouſly to the ſhameful cataſtrophe at the opening of the campaign, but the moment was now elapſed. It would have appeared as if he had undertaken the war department for the expreſs purpoſe of revenging himſelf on the generals by domineering over them, and this would have produced new broils, and have effected a ſchiſm, out of which it would have been difficult to have extricated himſelf at the beginning of a war. He offered to ſhare the labours of his friend, but he refuſed to accept of his department; it was then that Degraves determined to reſign.

This, by occaſioning a derangement in the council, produced much miſchief. Until then this body had lived together in ſome degree of union; but a more particular intimacy ſubſiſted between Degraves, Lacoſte, and Dumouriez, who, leſs occupied with what paſſed around them than with the affairs of their own departments, ſupported the independence of their places againſt the influence of the factions. Some altercations on this ſcore had even taken

place

place with Roland and Clavieres; for Duranton, the miniſter of juſtice, confined himſelf within the boundaries of his own office, which had but little connection with the buſineſs of the other five, and was in reality neither a Jacobin, nor a Feuillant, nor a Girondiſt.

Degraves himſelf propoſed Servan as his ſucceſſor, and he was ſoon after made a major general. On this occaſion, it was wrong in that unfortunate prince to diſſemble his repugnance at ſuch a choice. He knew Servan better than either Degraves or Dumouriez, who never had any connection with this man, and had not even been acquainted with him longer than a month. Had his majeſty ſtarted but the leaſt objection, he would never have been miniſter.

Servan had been long intimate with the celebrated madame Roland, and is ſaid, whether true or falſe, to have acted in the capacity of her lover. He was not eight days in office before he began to blacken the conduct of his predeceſſor, and intirely ſeparated himſelf from general Dumouriez, to whom he had made proffers of the moſt

ſubmiſſive

ſubmiſſive attachment, on purpoſe to obtain his office. He not only neglected to conſult him relative to any of the buſineſs of his department, but he even concealed the poſition and ſtrength of the armies, and endeavoured to enter into an accommodation with the generals, by appearing to be on bad terms with his colleague, who did not in the leaſt conſtrain his actions, and never exhibited any curioſity, except relative to ſuch parts of his adminiſtration as might more or leſs influence his own negotiations.

A very trifling motive menaced France at this period with a new war, and the impetuoſity of the Jacobins on one ſide, and the intrigues of the court on the other, converted it into a ſerious affair. From the very commencement of the revolution, the court of Turin had diſplayed but too much partiality. The king's two brothers had eſpouſed princeſſes of the houſe of Savoy, and their ſiſter was married to the prince of Piedmont. The count d'Artois had retired thither, and, although he had hurt his intereſt by the levity of his conduct,

duct, and that of thoſe who ſurrounded him, it was very natural for the court of Turin to wiſh for the ſucceſs of ſuch near relations, more eſpecially as it would in that caſe get rid of very troubleſome gueſts.

Savoy had never been contented with its ſovereigns; the ideas of French liberty had fermented in the heads of theſe mountaineers. However moderate their impoſts were, they were yet burdenſome to theſe poor people, who depended for their ſubſiſtence on their neighbours the French.

The court of Turin had been inconſiderate enough to aſſure itſelf of their fidelity by force; it had ſtrengthened its garriſons, and employed a rigorous military authority to puniſh innovators. They, on the other hand, had taken refuge in the Jacobin ſociety, the common aſylum of the ſeditious of all countries, which was not only eager to receive, but had even ſent miſſionaries among them, on purpoſe to cultivate the germs of inſurrection.

It was in Turin and the county of Nice, that all thoſe conſpiracies of the emigrants, badly conducted, and always diſconcerted, had

had been firſt hatched. During the reſidence of the count d'Artois there, they had formed plots againſt Marſeilles, Toulon, Antibes, Lyons, and ſeveral towns in Dauphiné, the whole of which had been diſcovered.

The court of Turin, alſo pretending to conſider Louis XVI as a priſoner, had withdrawn its ambaſſadour without any ceremony, treated the count de Choiſeul, miniſter from France, with ſuch coolneſs, as to conſtrain him to demand leave to reſign, and after his departure did not appear very anxious to have any one nominated to ſucceed him.

Not only Savoy and Piedmont were crowded with emigrants, but theſe were openly formed into regiments in the county of Nice, and the king of Sardinia had publicly ſolicited the Swiſs to enter into a league, under pretence of guarantying his tranſalpine ſtates. It was rumoured that he had collected a large quantity of artillery in Savoy; and as this conſiſted of battering pieces, it could not be alleged that they were purely intended with a view towards

defenſive meaſures; it was rather to be preſumed, that they were gotten ready to be at hand for the purpoſe of attacking Lyons or Dauphiné. In addition to this, the departments of Dauphiné and of Provence were continually ſpreading alarms by means of their addreſſes to the national aſſembly, which at length paſſed a decree requiring Louis to demand a frank explanation relative to the intentions of the king of Sardinia.

Such was the ſtate of affairs between France and the court of Turin, when Dumouriez took poſſeſſion of the helm of foreign affairs. His continual occupations in arranging the political ſyſtem with the great powers; his ſpirited negotiations with the court of Vienna; the declaration of war which followed it; the details relative to the plan of the campaign, and its bad ſucceſs, had induced him not to neglect, but to ſuſpend, the deciſion of the diſputes between France and the court of Turin, which he could not however permit any longer to remain in a ſtate of uncertainty.

He had alſo been prevented by the fear of

of receiving a haughty or deceitful anſwer, and he had announced to the diplomatic committee, that his principle was to follow the example of the Romans, who carried on only one war at a time, ſelected the ſtrongeſt enemy, and diſſembled relative to the injuries received from powers of the ſecond order.

The petulance of the Jacobins, the wiſhes of the Savoyards, the imprudence of the emigrants, the half hoſtile conduct of the court of Turin, and the alarms of the ſouthern departments, provoked the decree on the part of the aſſembly. Being thus precluded from all further delay, he tranſmitted a diſpatch to the *charge d'affaires* of France at Turin, containing ſix of the principal cauſes of complaint, concerning which he demanded a full explanation on the part of the king.

The miniſter paid no manner of attention to this well intended overture, and neglected for a long time to return an anſwer. All the cabinets were miſled in their politics by the aſſertions of the unfortunate emigrants, who made them believe that the revolution

revolution could not endure, that the nation was weary of it, and that the preſent miniſtry, Dumouriez eſpecially, were the agents of a raſh and feeble faction, which was on the eve of being ſubjugated, and would become the victims of the people themſelves. The court of Turin, above all others, ought to have deſired that France ſhould have become a conſtitutional monarchy, governed according to ſage and pacific meaſures. The ſteps taken by it to oppoſe this, and re-eſtabliſh the old government, were highly imprudent; for it was this oppoſition, joined to foreign politics, that precipitated the French into anarchy and all their exceſſes, through mere deſpair. It is moſt likely that the nation would have completed its conſtitution without diſorder and without crime, if it had only been ſurrounded with ſage conciliators, inſtead of active enemies, who tormented her with continual conſpiracies, and irritated her by unceaſing ſcorn.

As the anſwer from Turin, when it at length arrived, was neither categorical nor polite, the miniſter informed the king, that

he was under the neceſſity of laying it before the aſſembly, which began to preſs him on this ſubject, and he propoſed to his majeſty to ſend as miniſter-plenipotentiary to that court a man who was at once active, vigilant, and intrepid; in order to force it to come to an explanation, to verify the rumours relative to the arming of the emigrants at Nice, the augmentation of the troops, and arrival of the battering cannon in Savoy, and to develope the hoſtile negotiations of that court with the Helvetic body, more eſpecially as this circumſtance was connected with the plot of the count d'Artois for the ſeduction of the Swiſs regiments, which he wiſhed to have ſanctioned by the Cantons.

Semonville, who had been appointed by Montmorin, was then at Genoa. After ſome months reſidence in the neighbourhood, aided by his penetration, he had made himſelf perfectly acquainted with the views, the diſpoſitions, and the intrigues, of the court of Turin. The king approved the choice which was made of him, without ſtarting any objection whatever. Dumou-

riez ſuſpended the report which he was about to preſent to the aſſembly, and inſtantly ſent off a courier to Semonville with inſtructions and orders, in conſequence of which he was to repair inſtantly to Turin, in order to open a negotiation with dignity, cordiality, and promptitude, and to ſend him an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible.

Turin was conſidered as one of the *family courts*, and there exiſted among them certain reciprocal ceremonies relative to the nomination of ambaſſadours: they were firſt propoſed to the court at which they were to reſide before the appointment was confirmed. Such was the mode in the time of the old government. The miniſter was ignorant of it, and the king did not give him any information on the ſubject.

It has already been ſtated, that it was agreed upon to adopt this practice in reſpect to the republic of Venice, becauſe that republic, on account of its ſagacious neutrality, was deſerving of every degree of reſpect. If Louis XVI had ſuggeſted this circumſtance to his miniſter, he would have repreſented, " that ſuch a condeſcenſion

ought not to be ſhown to a court that exhibited ſuch hoſtile views, and affected to conſider him as a priſoner; that even if a ſimilar conduct had prevailed previouſly to the revolution, it ought not to have been followed at preſent, when the buſineſs was to demand a categorical explanation from a power of the ſecond order, and that his new quality as a repreſentative of a free people ought not to diminiſh the dignity of his negotiations."

If the king at this period had refuſed to give his conſent to the appointment of Semonville, Dumouriez would have preſented the names of two or three other perſons to him for his choice, but he never would have ſubmitted ſo far as to have ſolicited the conſent of a court which had given ſuch occaſion for diſcontent and uneaſineſs. But the ſilence of the king relative to the *etiquette* of which Dumouriez was ignorant, rendered all theſe obſervations unneceſſary.

Semonville ſet off for Turin on the arrival of the meſſenger. That court being appriſed beforehand of his appointment by the couriers belonging to the Thuilleries, adopted

adopted a violent meaſure, and, in oppoſition to the law of nations, cauſed the miniſter plenipotentiary of France to be arreſted at Alexandria. This exceſs was committed under pretext of the danger ariſing from the factious ſpirit of Semonville, and he was accuſed of being the propagator of Jacobiniſm, and the agitator of all Italy. This aſſertion was not ſupported by any proof, and did not confer any right to ſeize on a man inveſted with a public character.

It is well known that in France the regent was content with diſmiſſing the prince de Cellamare, ambaſſadour from Spain, although convicted of a conſpiracy that coſt the chevalier de Rohan and ſeveral nobles of Britanny and Normandy their lives. The marquis de Bedmar, ambaſſadour from Spain to Venice, had been treated with equal prudence by that wiſe republic, ſubſequent to the diſcovery of a horrible plot. The affront was formal, the excuſe inſufficient.

The court of Turin ought to have allowed Semonville to have completed his journey, to have delayed receiving him in

the character of plenipotentiary, and to have ſent a miniſter to France, entruſted with the complaints which it had to allege againſt him: ſuch a proceeding would have rendered Louis XVI and his miniſtry blamable, if they had refuſed to recal him and nominate another, who was not obnoxious to any ſuſpicion. It would then have been juſtified in its refuſal of Semonville, and even in ordering him to leave the capital. The conduct adopted in the preſent inſtance was imprudent, injurious, and in exact oppoſition to the laws of nations.

The miniſter, with the king's own conſent, ordered Semonville to return to Genoa, and broke off all correſpondence with the court of Turin; he alſo withdrew his agent from that capital: but, in conformity to his old ſyſtem, he permitted that court to act as it pleaſed relative to its repreſentative at Paris. By this line of conduct, without debaſing the French nation, and appearing to be content with the anſwer returned to the articles formerly tranſmitted to him, and which merely announced the deſire of not interrupting

interrupting the peace ſubſiſting between Sardinia and France; he allowed the miniſter of the former power an opportunity of apologizing for the violence and temerity of his proceedings, and affected to believe that the affront received by Semonville was merely perſonal, and did not attach to his public character.

There was an eaſy mode of indemnifying this plenipotentiary for the injury he had received, and of proving, at the ſame time, that the vague accuſations of the court of Turin had not deprived him of the confidence of the king and the nation; this was to employ him in the embaſſy to Conſtantinople, a ſituation which he might afterwards exchange for another, according to the event of a war with the houſe of Auſtria.

The king having acquieſced in the appointment, the miniſter preſented to the aſſembly all the papers relative to the late diſagreement with the court of Turin. But he did not act in the ſame manner, on the preſent occaſion, as when the rupture took place with the court of Vienna; he neither

requeſted the king to appear in the aſſembly, nor produced any report, nor inferred any concluſion from the poſture of affairs. This was not the reſult of weakneſs, but of ſyſtem; he wiſhed not to precipitate a ſecond declaration of war, and indeed this did not take place during his adminiſtration. Notwithſtanding the anſwer of the court of Turin, he ſtill left this matter undecided; he however haſtened the preparations on the ſide of Italy, and he preſſed the formation of an army, which general Monteſquiou was appointed to command.

The court of the Thuilleries and the *Feuillans*, who wiſhed for nothing ſo much as to produce freſh troubles, repreſented this conduct at firſt as a *bravado*, and afterwards as an inſtance of weakneſs. The fooliſh people who at that time blamed the miniſter were either very diſhoneſt, or very ſtupid; it was only neceſſary to wait three months, in order to determine, in conſequence of the conqueſt of Savoy and Nice, on what ſide lay the imprudence, injuſtice, boaſting, and imbecility.

The conduct of the court of Turin on

this occaſion was inexcuſable. The king of Sardinia is a virtuous and moderate prince *; but he was miſled by the erroneous policy and improvident conduct of his miniſters, who ought to have avoided every pretext for a rupture, and who have never ſince taken any ſtep to repair an injury committed againſt the law of nations.

They ſhould have known, from their own perſonal experience, that in general leagues, the ſecondary powers always act diſadvantageous parts. They are a burden to the great allies, who are obliged to pay by means of expenſive ſubſidies for their very moderate ſervices, which are often more embarraſſing than uſeful. Whenever a peace is about to be negotiated, their petty intereſts are always neglected: happy, when they are not totally abandoned and ſacrificed to the enemy!

* He is alſo ſaid to be a moſt ſuperſtitious and intolerant one, ſolely guided by prieſts; and this accounts in ſome meaſure for the groſs impolicy of provoking a war with France. His ſon, the *prince de Piedmont*, who is repreſented as amiable, mild, and enlightened, always oppoſed this meaſure.—*Tranſ.*

The

The hiſtory of the houſe of Savoy, and of the little ſovereignties of Italy, exhibits not only ſtriking but parallel examples, at the concluſion of all treaties, of this political ſyſtem of great governments, who always prove themſelves very ſelfiſh, and that too at the expence of their weaker neighbours.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Schiſm in the Miniſtry.—The Affair of the Six Millions.

So long as Degraves was miniſter at war, Lacoſte, Dumouriez, and he, being at the head of the three moſt important departments, and accuſtomed to ſupport one another by their mutual eſteem, friendſhip, and confidence, they had maintained the independence of the adminiſtration amidſt the ſhock of contending factions; they were at the ſame time careful of the dignity of the king, giving him notice when the court was likely to involve him in any difficulties, and they often made uſe of the credit of the *Girondiſts* againſt the *Feuillans*, but without rendering the former the arbiters of public affairs, of which they never gave them any information but when

when they were to be diſcuſſed by the aſſembly.

The appointment of Servan as miniſter at war in the courſe of a week diſſolved that concord, which had hitherto reigned at the council board, becauſe he attached himſelf intirely to *madame* Roland, whoſe houſe was converted into an office for the Gironde, and where the miniſterial dinner, every Friday, became the dinner of a faction, as it was intended to ſubject the miniſters to the counſels and the direction of that party.

Lacoſte and Dumouriez having agreed not to converſe any more about the affairs of their departments at theſe meetings, mentioned their intentions to Roland, endeavouring at the ſame time to make him ſenſible of the danger of ſuch communications to the members of the aſſembly; the defect in point of ſecrecy, which ſometimes, although but rarely, might be neceſſary; the dependence which it would produce in reſpect to theſe members themſelves, and the rumours that would be circulated abroad to their detriment by ſuch an appearance of

of partiality. Roland was of a different opinion; he declared that he would not do any thing either relative to his own department, or the buſineſs before the council board, without the advice of his friends (and he might have added of his wife); and he became exceedingly reſerved.

The faction of the Gironde, which at that time poſſeſſed the favour of the people, began, as well as Roland, Servan, and Claviere, to be very *republican*; it diſplayed much ill will againſt the two friends, who, faithful to the conſtitution, often took part with the king, whom the three coaleſced miniſters began to treat with much indecency.

Two circumſtances contributed to embroil them intirely. At one of the Friday's dinners, for they had not as yet quarrelled publicly, Guadet read a long, very harſh, and inſolent letter, which the ſix miniſters were ſuppoſed to write to Louis XVI, on purpoſe to oblige him to diſmiſs his *non-juring* confeſſor, and to take one who had ſubſcribed the civic oath. This they were preſſed to ſign. Dumouriez eaſily demonſtrated the

the tyranny, the atrocity, and the abſurdity, of this letter; he ſaid that he would not put his ſignature to it, and Lacoſte followed his example. Duranton obſerved, that it was at leaſt uſeleſs. Vergniaud and Genſonné acknowledged that it was ill timed. Guadet was furious, and the converſation became very warm.

It was however at length withdrawn, but it was at the ſame time ſtated that another would be neceſſary. Dumouriez on this replied, that he would not permit any letter to be written to the king in the name of the council relative to the ſcruples of his conſcience; he obſerved, that he might ſelect an iman, a rabbi, a Papiſt, or a Calviniſt, for his guide, without any perſon having a right to interfere, and that their ſigning it would be highly imprudent, as none of them, by the functions of his department, was entruſted with the direction of the king's conſcience.

This propoſition alſo was withdrawn, but in the newſpapers under the influence of the Gironde, Dumouriez and Lacoſte were next day accuſed of favouring the reſiſtance of

of Louis XVI to the articles of the conſtitution, and that too in their moſt eſſential principles. The Jacobin journals repeated theſe follies, which tended not a little to irritate the people againſt the unfortunate monarch and his two miniſters, who wiſhed to ſpare him theſe mortifications. The king ſighed, and thanked them. This was one of the moments in which he told Dumouriez, that he could ſubmit to any thing except what concerned his conſcience, and that, if he were reduced to ſuch an extremity, he could ſubmit to die.

The other circumſtance was the nomination of the governor and commiſſioners for the iſland of St. Domingo. The Gironde wiſhed to force Lacoſte to conſent to the choice of Sillery as governor. He had been a member of the conſtituent aſſembly. His character was ſullied by his immoralities, although the latter part of his life proved very honourable; in ſhort, there were a variety of motives which could be urged for his excluſion, as well in point of law, as in reſpect to circumſtances.

As to the commiſſioners, they conſiſted of

of the moſt furious Jacobins, and they had alſo rendered themſelves notorious for their writings againſt the king; they have ſince been ſent on that very miſſion. Lacoſte would not conſent to this nomination, more eſpecially as it was at the ſame time propoſed, that their inſtructions ſhould include certain incendiary projects. In order to accommodate matters, the old general D'Eſparbès was propoſed by the Girondiſts, and conſented to by Lacoſte; but the commiſſioners were abſolutely rejected. Dumouriez took part with his colleague, who being a man of great firmneſs, diſplayed much courage in his diſputes with Clavières and Servan. From that moment the quarrel became public; the miniſters no longer dined together, and never met except at the council board, or when a conference rendered this circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary.

The Gironde faction was irritated more particularly againſt Dumouriez, and had reſerved to itſelf a mode of revenge, of which he had no ſuſpicion. It has been formerly mentioned, that it was this very party which had

had principally ſupported the demand made by him on his entrance into adminiſtration, of the ſum of ſix millions for the *ſecret ſervice money* of his department, under the expreſs condition of not being obliged to give any account of the expenditure but to the king alone. It was the rage of the *Feuillans* at this propoſition on the part of the new miniſter, that had induced the Girondiſts to ſupport his requeſt, in hopes of being afterwards able to govern him.

This affair had been regularly and minutely debated, more eſpecially the expreſs condition of not being ſubjected to any public account relative to the employment of the ſum in queſtion, a ſtipulation without which, the miniſter affirmed, that he would neither accept of the money nor the place. The conſent of the aſſembly had been very deciſive as to this article, and in conſequence of this, a decree had been iſſued which had received the king's ſanction; a copy of it had been ſent to the miniſter, who not ſuſpecting that any *falſity*

could take place in a caſe of this nature, had not even read it.

He now found that this decree did not include the clauſe by which it was provided that the accounts ſhould not be rendered public. He had never been able to diſcover whether this *omiſſion* proceeded from the *Gironde*, with a view to keep him in their own power, out of fear of the publication of the accounts, in reſpect to which he had diſplayed ſuch an invincible repugnance, or whether it was merely an errour on the part of thoſe who had drawn it up, as was often the caſe. Guadet, the moſt wicked and inſolent of all that faction, was alſo the moſt violent againſt the miniſter; he boaſted that he would make the rebel tremble, by making uſe of this *falſe decree* in order to carry a motion obliging him to render an account of the employment of the ſix millions.

A circumſtance relative to this ſame ſix millions of *livres* had augmented the wrath of the Gironde. The miniſter having been obliged to change the treaſurer of the foreign

reign department, and not knowing any perſon in Paris whom he could entruſt with that place, had aſked Pethion and Clavieres to point out to him a banker that was at once reſpectable, faithful, and diſcreet; they had accordingly mentioned Biderman, a Swiſs by nation, and a zealous revolutioniſt, who was employed by the municipality of Paris to purchaſe corn for it. He had accordingly conferred that place upon him.

He learned ſoon after, that he was in partnerſhip with the miniſter Clavieres, and without the leaſt diſtruſt in reſpect to his probity, he had deemed it improper, even in point of delicacy, in addition to the ſum of five hundred thouſand livres a month, of which there was one half intended for *ſecret ſervices*, to place the ſix millions alſo in his hands: he accordingly imagined it more prudent to leave this ſum with Mr. Amelot, the keeper of the national treaſury, reſolving on his part not to draw out more than fifty thouſand crowns at a time, which he cauſed to be brought to him, on purpoſe to pay the ſecret expenſes, as occaſion might require, without expoſing the myſtery

to the curioſity of a third perſon. He had never mentioned this arrangement to any one, and Biderman himſelf had not complained of it; but the Gironde, and eſpecially Briſſot, found themſelves, in conſequence of this precaution, excluded from the knowledge of his ſecret tranſactions, which vexed them exceedingly.

There was a great number of *Impartialiſts*, or of moderate and honeſt Girondiſts, Jacobins, and Feuillans, in the aſſembly, who had conceived a friendſhip for the miniſter; the indiſcreet menaces on the part of Guadet had diſcovered the black injuſtice, which he had determined to exerciſe againſt him; they were ſufficiently acquainted with his character to know that he would not yield; they conſidered Guadet's motion as diſhonourable to the repreſentative body; they perceived that it would attach much odium to it, and accordingly two or three of them came and informed him of the circumſtance.

On this, having taken the decree out of his deſk, he perceived, that, as it did not contain the clauſe precluding the publicity of

of the accounts, it of courſe ſubjected him to the expoſure of them. He then cauſed it to be intimated to Genſonné and Vergniaud, that he would have nothing more to do with *falſifiers*, and he announced publicly that he was about to reſign.

He had been more than ſeven weeks in place, and yet the ſum taken from the ſix millions did not amount to more than two hundred thouſand livres; but were he to have loſt his head upon a ſcaffold, he was determined not have produced a detailed account of the expenditure.

He accordingly waited upon the king, laid before him the diſcuſſion in the aſſembly, and its decree, exhibited the decree in expreſs contradiction to the former, begged him to accept of his reſignation, and ſhewed him the ſketch of a letter to the preſident of the aſſembly announcing his retreat. The king, who evinced the greateſt ſenſibility, entreated him not to abandon him. The miniſter however repreſented to him, that, were he to ſuffer ſuch an atrocity, he not only would be no longer of any ſervice to

him, but would even involve him in his own perſonal dangers.

This prince had the more occaſion for regret, as Lacoſte, participating in the indignation of his colleague, and being unwilling to remain expoſed alone to the violence of ſo dangerous a faction, had juſt informed him that he wiſhed his permiſſion to retire along with his friend. Intelligence of this ſtep, and of the motives which had induced him to it, being ſoon made known in the aſſembly, Dumouriez on his return home found more than a hundred members, many of whom were unknown to him, and alſo Pethion, the mayor of Paris, and the three miniſters, who dreaded leſt the king ſhould take advantage of his reſignation and that of Lacoſte, to diſmiſs and renew the whole council. They accordingly preſſed him to remain, told him that the accounts ſhould not be demanded of him, and that Guadet ſhould not proceed any further in this affair. He obſerved to them that his reſolution was fixed. They conjured him in the name of his country to retain

retain his place, and they beſought him to write a letter to the preſident to demand the error might be rectified. His anſwer was as follows.

" It is neither ſuitable to my delicacy nor the dignity of the aſſembly, that I ſhould take ſuch a ſtep. You all recollect that, after a long diſcuſſion, you came to a reſolution relative to the clauſe which I demanded. The decree in which it is omitted is a falſity. If you ſupport the decree, you declare yourſelf falſifiers in the eyes of France and of all Europe; and you may eaſily imagine, that in ſuch a caſe I will have no manner of connection with you. If you, on the other hand, deem the decree erroneous, and the motion of Guadet diſhoneſt, it belongs to you to compare your reſolution with your decree, to repeal it, and to paſs a true one, which will henceforth ſhelter me from ſuch a ſpecies of aſſaſſination.

" I dread outraging the honour of the aſſembly, if I provoke your juſtice by means of a written demand. I love my country as much as you do, and I have devoted my-

ſelf to the duties of a very diſagreeable ſtation on account of the different factions by which I am perpetually aſſailed. I will however wait during two days for you to come to ſome reſolution, and if you do not reſolve upon ſomething of your own accord, my part ſhall be then determined."

No ſatisfactory reply could be made to ſuch cloſe arguments as theſe; they accordingly left him, and were very angry at Guadet, whom the miniſters, and even the faction itſelf, found great difficulty in reſtraining.

On the next day a Jacobin, and an honeſt man, of the name of Couturier, as ſoon as there was a full aſſembly, pointed out the error in the decree. The *Gironde* was ſilent; the *Feuillans*, who ſuppoſed the miniſter would join them on purpoſe to revenge himſelf on account of this adventure, exclaimed againſt the diſhoneſty of the tranſaction; the ſecretaries excuſed themſelves in the beſt manner they were able; the decree was repealed and cancelled; a new one, with the clauſe that had been omitted, was enacted; it was then carried to the king for his ſanction,

tion, and the greater part of the aſſembly waited upon and felicitated the miniſter, who a few days afterwards was greatly applauded on his going to the aſſembly about ſome of the affairs of his department, for he thought that it would be highly improper in him to thank them for rectifying a falſity.

The next day was a feſtival in honour of Simoneau, mayor of Etampes. The newſpapers had repreſented the affair of Dumouriez very differently, according to the views of the ſeveral factions; the Pariſians were acquainted with this circumſtance, and, in paſſing through the ſquare of Louis XV, an immenſe multitude teſtified by their plaudits the joy they experienced at ſeeing him aſſiſt at the ceremony in his capacity of miniſter. But the Girondiſts did not forget this adventure.

As to himſelf, notwithſtanding the tender intereſt with which the ſituation of the unhappy king inſpired him, he was miſerable at perceiving that the public attachment had given a certain turn to this affair, which laid him under the indiſpenſable neceſſity of retaining a place that, on account

of

of the diſagréement among the miniſters, only filled him with diſguſt. Lacoſte thought the ſame as he did, and both of them reſolved not to remain long with three inſupportable and factious men, who were the ſlaves of the *Gironde*, but to take a decided part on the very firſt opportunity that ſhould occur.

It is doubtful whether there were ever two men more unfortunate, and leſs enamoured, than theſe two miniſters, of two places equally important. Lacoſte is a moſt virtuous man, greatly attached to his country, to the conſtitution, and to his king, who always did juſtice to his character. What has become of him? His unſhaken virtue occaſioned his illegal arreſt. Perhaps, at the very moment when Dumouriez is writing theſe memoirs, at two hundred leagues diſtance from his native country, the honeſt Lacoſte, his intimate friend, is no longer in exiſtence! Perhaps the monſters have cut off, by means of their unjuſt guillotine, that head which was replete with the moſt profound knowledge relative to the department with which he was entruſted,

and

and alſo with uſeful, honeſt, grand, and ſage principles, which were conſtantly founded on probity! He entered into the adminiſtration poor, and he left it deſtitute even of bread. May he read theſe memoirs in ſome retreat, where he is ſheltered from thoſe crimes at which he has ſo often ſighed!

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Diſmiſſion of Roland, Servan, and Clavières.

THE three miniſters no longer kept any terms, not only with their colleagues, but even with the king himſelf. At every meeting of the council they abuſed the good nature of that prince on purpoſe to mortify and torture his feelings; this conſtantly produced diſputes, becauſe the two others, and even Duranton, notwithſtanding his neutrality, always took the part of the unfortunate Louis, and treated their three factious and imprudent colleagues with great ſeverity. But what was ſtill more vexatious, Roland paid the expenſes of ſeveral newſpapers, and among others, The *Thermometer*, which were compoſed in his own houſe, and retailed an account of all the buſineſs brought before the council in ſuch a manner

a manner as to render his two colleagues, and eſpecially the king, unpopular.

At the commencement of the adminiſtration, and when they were united together, all the ſix miniſters had agreed, that to introduce order into their proceedings, and ſhelter them from reſponſibility, it was neceſſary to deſire the king to appoint a ſecretary to the council, as was required by a conſtitutional decree, who was to keep an exact regiſter of all the buſineſs that came before it. Louis had always obſtinately refuſed to acquieſce, and the miniſtry, then united among themſelves, and penetrated with regard for that prince, had inſiſted no further, but contented themſelves with taking notes relative to the affairs diſcuſſed, and their deciſion upon them.

The moment the ſchiſm took place, the three miniſters demanded, in an abſolute and arrogant tone, that the king ſhould nominate a ſecretary to the council. Louis XVI begged Lacoſte and Dumouriez to oppoſe this propoſition, becauſe it was aſſuredly made by their colleagues, on purpoſe to lay open all the deliberations of the council to the

the inſpection of their faction, a circumſtance which would place them in the moſt humiliating dependence upon them. The two miniſters, feeling the juſtice of this obſervation, promiſed to remain firm, and fulfilled this engagement, notwithſtanding the accuſations of ariſtocracy laviſhed upon them by the Girondiſts, the Jacobins, and the journaliſts. The king told them, if the day ſhould arrive, when he had no longer three ſuch indiſcreet, dangerous, and factious men in his council, that he would inſtantly nominate any perſon whom they might point out as ſecretary, and that a regiſter ſhould be kept, becauſe he himſelf perceived the neceſſity of it.

An affair ſtill more important than this divided the council, and brought on the cataſtrophe. Servan, a man of a bad diſpoſition, and a great enemy to the king, took upon himſelf, without either conſulting his colleagues, or mentioning the circumſtance either to his majeſty or the council, to write to the preſident of the national aſſembly, and propoſe a decree for aſſembling and encamping twenty thouſand men in the neighbourhood

bourhood of Paris; to fix the epoch of the federation of the fourteenth of July for that purpoſe, and to eſtabliſh a central and permanent army, under the ſpecious pretext of maintaining the tranquillity of Paris, and protecting the labours of the national aſſembly. It was at this epoch that the faction of the Gironde was in the plenitude of its power, having the Jacobins under its command, being maſters of Paris by means of Pethion, influencing the aſſembly, and having a majority in the council.

This faction wiſhed to deſtroy, perhaps by the ſword, its enemies the Feuillans, to humble the court, and peradventure to commence the execution of its republican project. It was accordingly this party that firſt brought to Paris thoſe very *federates*, who at length made them periſh on that ſcaffold, where the unfortunate Louis ſuffered before them.

The Feuillans warmly oppoſed this decree; the Girondiiſts and the Jacobins uniting together carried along with them the Impartialiſts, who, timid, ſuſpicious, perceiving *ariſtocrats* every where, and not reflecting

flecting on the danger of ſuch an aſſemblage, hoped to find their ſafety in an armed force, which, by whatever hand it was directed, would not fail to bereave them of their liberty.

Dumouriez oppoſed this motion with all his might, as well in council as in the committees, but in vain. Servan would never have propoſed it to the council, if Dumouriez, the moment he was informed of it, had not demanded of him whether he had received the king's orders on this ſubject. This he confeſſed he had not.

" Have you conſulted your colleagues," added he, " relative to an affair that may be productive of ſuch ſerious conſequences?" Servan ſtill acknowledged that he had not, and obſerved that it was in his quality of a private individual, and a citizen, that he deemed it proper to propoſe a motion which appeared uſeful to him. " If it were as a private citizen, why did you annex to your ſignature the title of miniſter at war?" The diſpute on this became ſo warm, that, had it not been for the preſence of the king, blood would have been ſpilt.

Clavieres

Clavieres propoſed a perfidious accommodation, which was, that Servan ſhould withdraw his motion. Dumouriez and Lacoſte perceived the atrocity of this ſnare, which would have thrown all the blame upon the king, and rendered the aſſembly ſtill more eager to accede to the propoſition. They did not conceal their indignation. The motion remained as before, the quarrel in the council, which was diſcovered, occaſioned ſtill more bitterneſs than ever, and the national aſſembly paſſed the decree for eſtabliſhing a camp of twenty thouſand federates in the neighbourhood of Paris, on the 14th of July.

The king was reduced to a ſtate of conſternation; he avowed his fears to Dumouriez, and told him that he was reſolved to exerciſe his *veto* againſt this law. His miniſter however made him perceive, that, being deſtitute of any force, ſubjected to the ſuſpicions of the greater part of the nation, the rage of the Jacobins, and the profound policy of the republican party, he would be left without any poſſible reſource; and that they waited only for ſuch a ſtep on his ſide,

to declare an open war againſt him, in which he would aſſuredly be overcome.

Louis kept the decree in his cloſet, and four councils were held without its being produced for deliberation. The aſſembly became impatient, the Jacobins were clamorous, the Girondiſts triumphed. At length Louis preſented the decree. Dumouriez, who was the oldeſt member of the council, then ſpoke as follows.

" Sire, thoſe who have ſolicited this decree are equally the enemies of their country and their king. It can produce nothing ſhort of the greateſt evils. If we but refer to circumſtances, the miniſter at war is very culpable in having ſolicited an aſſemblage of twenty thouſand men in the neighbourhood of Paris, at the time when our armies are feeble, our frontiers unfurniſhed with troops, and that there is not even a ſufficient fund for the maintenance of thoſe already in arms.

" If we again conſider the preſent ſpirit of the nation, this miniſter has alſo been exceedingly imprudent in propoſing in the immediate neighbourhood of the national aſſembly and

and the king, the reunion of an undiſciplined multitude, convoked under a name that exaggerates its patriotiſm, and of which the firſt ambitious man may take advantage.

" Two great factions divide both the aſſembly and Paris, thoſe of the Girondiſts and Feuillans: a third, that of the Jacobins, which at preſent acts but a ſubordinate part, will ſoon annihilate them both; becauſe it is far more numerous and more turbulent than the other two, becauſe its branches extend throughout the whole kingdom, and becauſe, in ſhort, out of theſe twenty thouſand federates, which the miniſter is about to aſſemble in virtue of this decree, nineteen thouſand at leaſt will be Jacobins. Thus the promoters of the decree will be ruined by it.

" I think then that this decree is dangerous for the nation, for the king, for the national aſſembly, and more than all for the authors of it, to whom it will prove a chaſtiſement; and yet, notwithſtanding all this, it is ſtill my opinion, ſire, that you cannot refuſe to ſanction it. It has been provoked by pro-

found malice, it has been debated with great bitterneſs, it has been carried with enthuſiaſm, and all the world is blinded by it. If you oppoſe it with your *veto*, it will nevertheleſs be carried into effect. In the place of twenty thouſand men aſſembled by virtue of a law, and who may be conſequently ſubjected to regulations, at the epoch of the federation which is now faſt approaching, forty thouſand men will arrive from the provinces, without any decree; and theſe may overturn the conſtitution, the aſſembly, and the throne.

" The miniſter ought to diſcover in this picture the enormity of his own imprudence, it belongs to your council to propoſe an expedient to render this aſſemblage leſs dangerous. I have conceived certain ideas on this ſubject, which I ſhall detail in writing, and communicate to your majeſty at a proper time."

The three miniſters, and more eſpecially Servan, were frightened at this prediction; and certain it is, had it not been too late, the decree would never have paſſed. The Gironde, to whom they communicated what

what had been ſaid at the council board, were alſo alarmed, and they entreated Dumouriez to communicate the expedient ſuggeſted by him for rendering it leſs dangerous. In the mean time the ſix miniſters conjured the king to ſanction the decree. To this he replied, that he would take a few days to conſider on the ſubject, and then inform them of his ultimate reſolutions.

The ſafety of the throne of this unfortunate monarch was deeply intereſted in this decree, which occaſioned ſo much evil. It ſeemed to be preordained, that a variety of vexatious circumſtances ſhould occur to him at the ſame time. In the courſe of that very week another decree was preſented to him, which was in direct oppoſition to his religious principles: that of the tranſportation or impriſonment of the prieſts who had refuſed to ſubſcribe the civic oath. This prince poſſeſſed a very ſcrupulous conſcience, and this inſpired him with great courage relative to ſuch matters as concerned religion. Dumouriez has never been able to conceive how he was induced in

ſtinately perſiſted in reading a long letter at the next council, which he had addreſſed to his majeſty. It began with nearly theſe words. " Sire, this letter ſhall remain an eternal ſecret between you and me."

He entered into the moſt injurious and bitter details, ſome of them true, and others exaggerated, relative to the conduct obſerved by Louis ſubſequently to the flight to Varennes; he treated him as a perjured prince, ſpoke about his confeſſor, his body guards, the imprudent conduct of the queen, the intrigues of the court, and the frequent couriers that were diſpatched to Vienna and Coblentz.

He then came to the two decrees ſo recently under conſideration, preſſed him without any ceremony to ſanction them, and threatened, in caſe of refuſal, to give in his reſignation, and to awaken the nation relative to its dangers, by declaring his motives.

The king liſtened with an admirable patience to this impudent libel, and replied with the greateſt coolneſs: " Mr. Roland, it is now three days ſince you tranſmitted your

your letter to me; it was therefore uſeleſs to read it before the council, as it was to have remained known only to ourſelves."

On the morning of the ſucceeding day Dumouriez was ſummoned to the caſtle. He found the king in his apartment, and the queen along with him, who inſtantly ſaid:

"Do you think, ſir, that the king ought any longer to endure the menaces and the inſolence of Roland, and the impoſtures of Servan and Clavieres?"

"No, madam; I myſelf am filled with indignation; I admire the king's patience, and I dare to ſupplicate him to change the whole of the adminiſtration: let him diſmiſs all the ſix miniſters, and chooſe men who ſhall not be conſidered as belonging to any party."

"Such is not my intention," replied Louis; "I wiſh that you, Lacoſte, and that honeſt man Duranton, ſhould remain. Do me the favour however to eaſe me of theſe three factious and inſolent men, for my patience is entirely exhauſted."

"The thing is dangerous, ſire; but I am ready

ready to carry it into execution. I ſhall propoſe to you certain conditions; but in the mean time you muſt permit me to inſiſt on my firſt propoſition. I am hated by the three factions that divide the aſſembly and the capital. All the newſpapers abuſe me; I am rendered entirely unpopular; it is only by means of the public opinion that a man can govern to advantage, and this is no longer on my ſide; I cannot in reality be hereafter uſeful to you; perhaps indeed the hatred, that is now teſtified againſt me, may prove hurtful to your majeſty. Reflect on this, ſire; it will be ſaid of the three miniſters who remain in place, that they are become ariſtocrats and conſpirators. I am of opinion, that is it better for us to retire with the others. I will alſo add, with that frankneſs which becomes a duty more eſpecially in ſuch dangerous times, that Lacoſte and myſelf are immoveably fixed in favour of the conſtitution."

The queen on this appeared to be chagrined: the miniſter's eyes were fixed on her: when the king ſaid:

" I am well acquainted with your principles,

ciples, and I know that the conſtitution ought to be obeyed. For this purpoſe it is neceſſary, that you ſhould remain in the council. Make haſte and nominate three new miniſters to me."

" I had the honour to tell you, ſire, that I was about to propoſe certain conditions to you. They are as follows: ſanction the two decrees, and appoint a ſecretary to the council on the ſame day you nominate your three miniſters."—" That cannot be," replied the king.

The queen alſo exclaimed againſt the hardneſs of the conditions. " They are neceſſary for your ſafety," ſaid the miniſter; and then turning towards her majeſty, he conjured her in the tendereſt manner to bethink herſelf of the fate of the king and of her children, and to join her influence to his. After this he repeated all the arguments which he had uſed with his majeſty in the preſence of the council, and he added: " If I deemed the ſanction proper before the king expreſſed to me his juſt deſire of getting rid of the three factious men who torment

torment him, think how indiſpenſably neceſſary I muſt ſuppoſe it at preſent. If the king apply his *veto* under the preſent circumſtances, the three miniſters will appear to be the victims of their patriotiſm, and I will not anſwer, but that the moſt violent extremities may be recurred to, which in a few days may perhaps bereave you of your crown. As to myſelf, I forewarn your majeſty, that I cannot act contrary to my principles. I really think in the ſame manner as theſe three men relative to the propoſitions in queſtion. I can alſo aſſure you, that Lacoſte and Duranton do the ſame; I know not what they may reſolve upon on the preſent occaſion, but as to myſelf, even ſhould I be unfortunate enough to diſpleaſe you, I feel myſelf obliged to declare, that I will not remain in the council if your majeſty do not ſanction the two decrees."

The king was at firſt vexed, and Dumouriez was about to leave the apartment, when the queen called him back and ſaid: " Think, ſir, how hard it is for the king to ſanction

ſanction a decree, which will bring twenty thouſand rogues to Paris, perhaps to maſſacre him."

" Madam, there is no manner of occaſion to exaggerate the danger. The decree ſays, that the executive power ſhall point out the place where theſe twenty thouſand men, who are not rogues, are to be collected. It alſo ſays, that the miniſter at war ſhall be charged with the appointment of their officers, and ſhall fix the mode of their organiſation. It will be neceſſary that the miniſter about to be choſen by the king ſhould pitch upon Soiſſons, as the place where they are to be aſſembled, and that he ſhould nominate a lieutenant general who is a man of reſolution, and two good major generals, to command them. Theſe men muſt be formed into battalions; the moment that five or ſix have been aſſembled and armed, the miniſter will comply with the requiſitions of the generals, and ſend them to one of the three armies, and thus a decree conceived with bad intentions, far from being hurtful, will prove highly ſalutary."—" But are you ſure of being able to

obtain permiſſion for aſſembling them at Soiſſons?"

" I will anſwer for it."

" In that caſe," ſaid the king, at the ſame time becoming more cheerful, " it will be neceſſary, that you yourſelf ſhould take upon you the war department."

" Sire, I have at preſent only a ſlight and indirect reſponſibility in the department of foreign affairs; that of the war department is direct, and the ſums to be accounted for amount to more than four or five hundred millions; your generals too are my enemies, and I ſhall be charged with their errours. But as this meaſure is connected with the ſafety of your majeſty, your auguſt family, and the conſtitution, I will not heſitate. You will then agree to ſanction the decree for the twenty thouſand men?"

" Yes, moſt willingly, if you be miniſter at war, as in that caſe I ſhall intirely confide in you."

" There is no longer any difficulty, then, ſire about the ſecretary to the council? either chooſe yourſelf a perſon who poſſeſſes your confidence,

confidence, or conſult with Mr. de La Porte."—" Very well. I will ſpeak to him on this ſubject, and you can ſettle the matter together."

" Let us now come to the decree relative to the prieſts."

" Oh! I cannot yet determine on that point."

" You have laid yourſelf under the neceſſity, ſire, of ſanctioning this, by having ſanctioned the former."

" I committed a great fault on that occaſion, for which I reproach myſelf."

" Sire, if you do not ſanction this decree, the ſecond fault will be ſtill greater than the firſt, for you will then apply the poniard to the throat of theſe unhappy prieſts."

The queen acknowledged that the miniſter was in the right, and ſupported his opinion. The king was violently agitated. Dumouriez preſſed him in the moſt earneſt manner, obſerving at the ſame time, that this ſecond ſanction was abſolutely neceſſary for obtaining what he deſired. At length this prince, after having diſplayed the

the utmoſt repugnance, promiſed to give his aſſent.

There was a council that very night. The three miniſters were more inſolent and more violent than ever; they preſſed the king in a very rough manner, either to give or to refuſe his ſanction, threatening in the latter caſe to reſign inſtantly.

There was ſo little ſecrecy obſerved in the palace, that at the expiration of ſix hours it was whiſpered all over Paris, that Dumouriez had changed parties, and that more than twenty Feuillans had preſented themſelves at his door, on purpoſe to pay their reſpects to him. The council was very ſhort; the king diſſolved it with temper and dignity, and wrote a note to Dumouriez in the courſe of the ſame evening, in which he entreated him to propoſe three new miniſters.

Dumouriez went to the caſtle next morning, and propoſed to the king to replace Roland, miniſter of the home department, by Morgues de Montpellier, a proteſtant, and a good citizen, replete with knowledge

knowledge and genius, who had been employed in forming a land-regiſter of France, who was a member of ſeveral academies, and who had drawn up ſome very excellent and conſtitutional memoirs relative to the revolution. He had belonged to the club of 1789, and afterwards to that of the Feuillans, whence he had withdrawn. He poſſeſſed great honeſty, much firmneſs of character, and uncommon facility in buſineſs: he was accepted.

He ſuggeſted for the office of foreign affairs, either Emanuel de Maulde, who had been a moderate Jacobin, or Semonville, or Naillac, miniſter at the court of Deux-Ponts, who was abſolutely neutral, having been but a very ſhort time at Paris. The king preferred Naillac.

For the finance department, he propoſed Vergennes, nephew of the former miniſter of the ſame name, who had always been an impartial and conſtitutional man; but he at the ſame time informed the king, that he had rejected the offer, as well as Amelot, Lafontaine, and ſeveral others. The king inſtantly ſent for Vergennes, who, with

tears in his eyes, abſolutely refuſed to undertake the office, although he at the ſame time diſplayed the greateſt attachment to his majeſty.

It was at length agreed, that this department, which was the leaſt important, ſhould remain vacant, ſo that time might be given to make proper choice, and that Morgues, miniſter of the home department, ſhould be entruſted with it; in the ſame manner as Dumouriez was with that of foreign affairs, until the arrival of Naillac, to whom he had diſpatched a courier.

On the morning of the 13th of June, the three factious miniſters received a letter announcing their diſmiſſion, and in the evening the council aſſembled. The four miniſters, to whom he had rendered an account of the conditions on which this change had taken place, agreed among themſelves, that if the king, after obtaining what he had ſo ardently deſired, ſhould change his mind relative to the ſanction, and refuſe to grant it, they would deliver in their reſignations in a body, that they might not be accuſed of this errour, which would ruin the royal

royal family, and paſs for intriguing and ambitious men, who had ſacrificed their principles to their advancement. This reproach would have particularly attached to Dumouriez, who at this time was conſidered as prime miniſter: therefore, whatever part his colleagues might chooſe to act, he himſelf was determined not to remain in place, if the king ſhould employ his *veto*. Alas! this unfortunate prince was but too much miſled by his falſe friends; he broke his word, and he was undone!

CHAP. VIII.

Dumouriez Miniſter at War.

To avoid confuſion in this narrative, Dumouriez will here enumerate his labours in the new department he had juſt taken, during the four days that he fulfilled its functions. Never did any man enter into office under more diſadvantages, or with a greater probability of remaining but a ſhort time in adminiſtration; for at the end of the very firſt day he was almoſt ſure of being forced to reſign, and on the ſecond he actually gave in his reſignation. Any other perſon in his ſituation would have remained inactive: but he at leaſt wiſhed to render the ſervice to his ſucceſſor, whoever he might be, of reſtoring order and confidence to his office, on purpoſe to ſoften the rigours of ſo painful an employment. He was deſirous

ſirous alſo, before he quitted the adminiſtration, to infuſe ſome dignity into an employment, which, although ſubjected to great reſponſibility, was yet liable to be mortified by the rudeneſs and petulance of the committees, which carried on a correſpondence with each miniſter, or the national aſſembly itſelf.

During the night of the 13th he compoſed a memorial on the war department, which he read to the aſſembly; he will render an account in the next chapter of the turbulent ſcene produced by it. This memorial has been ſince frequently printed and conſulted, and the impreſſion of it, for which the Jacobins and Girondiſts firſt moved, on purpoſe to convert it into an article of accuſation againſt him, has proved his beſt juſtification, ſince men's minds have become calm, and have weighed the ſtriking facts it contains, in a diſpaſſionate manner.

In this memorial he reproached the legiſlators with having in the courſe of a fortnight voted the levy of two hundred and forty thouſand men, and that too in ſuch a

manner, that it was impoſſible to execute the decree paſſed for that purpoſe. He ſaid, that whenever the miniſter at war, or of the marine, propoſed raiſing a body of troops, or fitting out an armament, he ought at the ſame time to give in an eſtimate of the expenſes; and added, that the national aſſembly ſhould never enact a law for this purpoſe, until it had examined the eſtimate, and provided by a ſecond decree the neceſſary funds, which were to be at the diſpoſal of the miniſter, and ſubjected to his reſponſibility: that by this mode of proceeding they would be ſure of having troops, whereas at preſent they had only a vague decree, and no funds for its execution; ſo that the nation, calculating the number of its forces according to the tenour of decrees never carried into effect, was deceived.

He then obſerved, that, in order to proceed with prudence, a new levy ought never to be made before the old regiments were complered, and that the battalions of the infantry of the line ought to be increaſed to eight hundred men each. On purpoſe

to

to attain that number, they had been obliged to throw the greater part of the ſecond into the firſt battalions, ſo that the former conſiſted of no more than three or four hundred rank and file; thus, there were only one hundred and five battalions fit for ſervice, inſtead of two hundred and ten, of which we ſhould have been poſſeſſed, had they begun by decreeing, that the infantry of the line ſhould be completed; which would have produced a hundred and ſeventy thouſand regular and well organiſed troops, whereas now we had only a moiety of that number.

Eighty-three battalions of national volunteers had been formed in the ſame manner, in 1791, which did not contain more than five hundred and ſixty-four men apiece, including officers. As theſe ſhould be placed on the ſame footing with the infantry of the line, he ſaid, that they ought to have ordered them to be augmented with three hundred men to each battalion, before they decreed the creation of one hundred and twenty new battalions of national volunteers; ſo that this levy might not prove

detrimental to the completion of the eighty-three battalions. In ſhort, if they had completed the two hundred and ten battalions of infantry, and the eighty-three battalions of national volunteers, we ſhould have had a body of good infantry, conſiſting of two hundred and thirty-four thouſand men, which would have been ſufficient.

He made uſe of the ſame arguments relative to the artillery, the cavalry, and the garriſons. He wiſhed that the artillery and cavalry ſhould be augmented to the full amount of the war eſtabliſhment, and ſubjected to the old regulations. There were at that period ſixty-eight regiments of horſe, which, if completed to eight hundred each, would have given a total of fifty-four thouſand, inſtead of which, there did not exiſt one half of that number; and as to the plan decreed by them of ſending a man from each brigade of the ancient *maréchauſée*, then termed *gendarmerie nationale*, it would deprive the departments of their protection againſt robbers and ſeditious perſons, and afford, at the utmoſt, a reinforcement of only two or three thouſand very expenſive cavalry,

cavalry, without either uniſon or utility, becauſe they were unaccuſtomed to fight in ſquadrons. As to the two new bodies of artillery, he ſtated, that they could not be fit for action immediately on their being levied, and therefore were uſeleſs. He afterwards took a ſurvey of the *corps* of commiſſaries of war, the public officers, the contracts, and the eſtabliſhments, and he threw out hints concerning them all.

He began and terminated his memorial with animadverſions on the factions, and the reſpect due to the miniſters. All this was very badly received, but he expected as much. The members of the military committee accuſed him of publiſhing a ſevere ſatire on his predeceſſor and themſelves, merely becauſe he denounced abuſes, and more eſpecially the deplorable ſtate of the garriſons, which they had always announced to the aſſembly as being in a formidable ſtate of defence.

By way of anſwer to this imputation, he tranſmitted to the committee the returns which he had received from every one of theſe places, and he demanded that commiſſioners

ſioners ſhould be ſent to verify theſe returns, and deliver in an account of the reſult to the aſſembly.

They accuſed him alſo of imprudence, and almoſt of treaſon, becauſe his memorial, while it diſcovered the weakneſs of the armies and of the fortifications, at the ſame time indicated to our enemies the points in which they ought to attack us. He replied to this, that it was not his fault, if the public mode of treating all affairs excluded the poſſibility of ſecrecy; that it would be ſtill more dangerous to lull the nation into a falſe ſecurity, by means of lying reports, and decrees that could not be carried into execution; that our enemies were equally well acquainted with our weakneſs as we ourſelves; and that the proof they were not in a ſituation to profit by it was demonſtrated by the fact itſelf, that they had not done ſo, notwithſtanding the ſhameful commencement of the war: they had therefore ſtill time to repair the evil by a methodical application of the reſources of France.

The rock, on which the miniſter of war was

was moſt likely to be ſhipwrecked, was his reſponſibility in reſpect to his accounts, which amounted to ſeveral hundred millions. The moſt frightful part of this reſponſibility, and that by which it was impoſſible that even an honeſt miniſter at war ſhould not be eaſily ruined, was the article of contracts. Degraves had ſheltered himſelf as much as poſſible by the eſtabliſhment of a central committee, which, without ſharing his reſponſibility, yet diminiſhed the weight of it, becauſe no contract could be concluded without being examined and ratified by that committee. Servan, more audacious than his predeceſſour, had not employed the central committee for this purpoſe, but ſtruck all the bargains with the contractors themſelves in his own cloſet.

In conſequence of the regulations laid down by Dumouriez, the inſpection of the central committee was re-eſtabliſhed, and he at the ſame time adopted a meaſure which prevented miniſterial reſponſibility; in conſequence of this all future contracts were to be ſent to the chief commiſſary of the department of Paris, in order to be put up

to

to auction at the town houſe, in preſence of the municipality, after having been determined upon by the miniſter at war and his central committee.

This ſame committee was alſo at the end of every week to examine the labours of the firſt clerks of the different offices in the war department. He divided the office for the management of the money concerns into two parts, to facilitate the accounts. In conſequence of theſe regulations, the firſt clerks reſumed their confidence; they were all conſidered as ſo many ariſtocrats; they however proved themſelves but too great democrats during the inſurrection at Verſailles. He wrote to all the generals, and diſcloſed his opinion to them reſpecting the ſpecies of warfare which they ought to adopt; he at the ſame time exhorted Luckner, who had ſucceeded Rochambeau, to puſh forward the expedition againſt the Low Countries with the utmoſt vigour. He ordered all the regiments in the neighbourhood of Paris to march and reinforce his army, and during theſe three days, in addition to his regulations which were not

adopted,

adopted, he ſigned his name upwards of fifteen hundred times to official papers. It will be ſeen in the following chapter, that his activity was ſo much the more meritorious, as this ſhort period was uncommonly tumultuous.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Dumouriez reſigns.

It is neceſſary for Dumouriez to reſume the thread of his narrative from the moment of his nomination. The ariſtocrats and Feuillans at firſt triumphed with their uſual imprudence. As he did not expect to remain in office, he did not chooſe to change his place of reſidence; they accordingly ran in ſhoals to the office for foreign affairs, to felicitate him. They alſo affected to report, that he had gone over to their party, while the Girondiſts and the Jacobins, on the other hand, exhibited ſymptoms of the moſt violent rage, and talked of ſending him to Orleans as a traitor. As to himſelf, he was ſoon undeceived in his hopes of being able, at one and the ſame time, to achieve the preſervation of his king and the

the ſafety of his country; he did not regret having delivered this unhappy prince from the three factious men who had tormented him, but he ſaw with ſorrow, that, from that very day, he made an ill uſe of this circumſtance.

During the council held that evening, the four miniſters told the king, that it was neceſſary he ſhould immediately fulfil his promiſe, before the factions had time to work on the minds of the people, elſe he would not have any merit in giving his ſanction, as it would then be conſidered as proceeding ſolely from fear. His majeſty, without preciſely avowing that he had altered his mind, adjourned the conſideration of this ſubject until next day, and announced an extraordinary council at one. From that moment the four miniſters began to diſtruſt him, and renewed the promiſe they had made to reſign in a body, if they were not gratified in reſpect to the ſanction, on the ſucceeding day, which was the fourteenth. There was a great deal of ill humour on both ſides, and the king and his miniſters

ſeparated with an appearance of reſerve, that augured a ſiniſter termination.

On the 14th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, Dumouriez waited on the king, who had jnſt written to the preſident of the aſſembly, to notify the diſmiſſion of the three miniſters, and the appointment of their ſucceſſours. The miniſter ſeized the opportunity of being alone with him, to conjure his majeſty once more to be faithful to his promiſe. Louis, in oppoſition to the character which he had exhibited during three months, diſſembled, and even went ſo far as to ſay, that the eccleſiaſtics, whom he had conſulted, were of the ſame opinion with himſelf. He left the king, in order to preſent himſelf to the aſſembly, and read his memorial: he expected a ſtorm, but he did not foreſee the incident that occurred.

The appearance of the new miniſter in the aſſembly was expected. The Feuillans had agreed, whatever might occur, to preſerve the moſt profound ſilence. The Jacobins had filled the galleries with their ſatellites. The Girondiſts had prepared

pared a theatrical ſtroke, which they expected to produce a great effect. Soon after ten o'clock in the morning they had contrived to introduce the three diſgraced miniſters into the hall, under pretence of their rendering an account of the motives of their diſmiſſion; and they were accordingly received as the victims of ariſtocracy, and the martyrs of the *good cauſe*.

Roland had been baſe enough to read his letter to the king; that letter which was to have been *an eternal ſecret between the monarch and himſelf*. This was actually pointing poniards at the breaſt of this unhappy prince. Each phraſe of this imprudent compoſition was accompanied with the plaudits of enthuſiaſm; and, that the deſire of vengeance might have a wider range, it was decreed that it ſhould be printed, and tranſmitted to the eighty-three departments. They ſwore to ruin the ambitious miniſter, who wiſhed to re-eſtabliſh tyranny; and the baſe perfidy of Roland paſſed for an act of heroiſm.

It was under theſe auſpices that Dumouriez entered the hall. In the midſt of con-

fuſed cries and ferocious howlings, occaſioned by his preſence, he heard the decree pronounced, which commanded the publication and tranſmiſſion of Roland's letter to the eighty-three departments.

As the revolution, however cruel it has ſince become, has not yet intirely ſwept away the numerous ſpectators at this very indecent ſitting, he may affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the ſole emotion experienced by him was that of indignation. He coolly demanded leave to ſpeak, and began by announcing the death of general Gouvion. " This brave man is happy," ſaid he, " to have died fighting againſt our enemies, and not to have been a witneſs of our frightful diſcord. I envy his lot—." This afflicting intelligence proved ſomewhat ſerviceable, by diverting their minds to a new object. They deliberated on what manner the aſſembly ought to teſtify its regret to the family of the deceaſed, and it was decided that the preſident ſhould addreſs a letter of condolence to it.

The miniſter then once more demanded leave

leave to ſpeak: but the moment that he had read the title "memorial relative to the war department," the Gironde and the Jacobins began to howl, on purpoſe to prevent him from proceeding. But as every aſſembly is curious, more eſpecially when it is compoſed of Frenchmen, the noiſe at length ceaſed.

The exordium to this memorial related to the factions, and the reſpect due to miniſters. Guadet cried out with a voice of thunder: "Do you hear him? he already thinks himſelf ſo certain of his power that he pretends to give us advice!"

"And why not?" replied, the miniſter, at the ſame time turning towards the mountain. This bold reply aſtoniſhed even the moſt furious. He continued to read, and was often interrupted by their clamours, but at two different places, it was forgotten that every part of his memorial ought to be condemned as deteſtable, and univerſal applauſe enſued. The Feuillans enjoyed the whole in ſilence.

When he had concluded, a member of the military committee called Lacuée, aſ-

cended the *roſtrum* to contradict all the calumnies of the miniſter: on this he pretended to put his memorial into his pocket, as if he had meant to carry it with him. The Girondiſts perceived it; one of them exclaimed, that he wiſhed to run away with his papers, and that it would be proper to prevent him, as they would ſerve towards his conviction. He then took the memorial coolly out of his pocket, and delivered it to one of the doorkeepers, and he to a ſecretary, who cried out, " This paper is not ſigned!" " Let him ſign it! let him ſign it!" exclaimed they with fury. A pen and ſome ink was brought to him; he then affixed his ſignature to it; on which the doorkeeper wanted to take hold of it again, but he made a ſign with his hand, roſe with great gravity, went and placed the memorial with a very haughty air on the table, traverſed the whole length of the hall with a ſlow pace, and went out by the principal door, which was immediately below the mountain, ſurveying his enemies at the ſame time with great fierceneſs. True courage is always ſure to impoſe on the multitude.

There was not a ſingle hiſs, or word, or groan, now heard. His departure was accompanied with the utmoſt ſilence, and the people precipitated themſelves from the galleries and corridors of the hall, that they might have a nearer view of him. He was completely ſurrounded at the door of the Feuillans, but he did not perceive the leaſt expreſſion of anger viſible on a ſingle countenance. Three or four deputies ſallied forth after him, preſſed through the crowd, and ſaid with emotion: "They are playing the devil within; they wiſh to ſend you to Orleans."

"So much the better," replied he in a calm tone of voice, "I ſhall then be able to enjoy the baths and drink whey, and alſo have time to repoſe myſelf." Theſe few words affected the people, and ſeveral perſons repeated eulogiums on him aloud.

He then entered into the garden of the Tuilleries with the deputies, and as they walked about, he ſaid to them: "The printing of this memorial is an errour on the

part of my enemies, that will reſtore the confidence of all good citizens to me. At preſent, while you are both mad and fooliſh, you have extolled to the ſkies an infamous piece of treachery committed by Roland."

He afterwards went to the caſtle, where the king applauded his firmneſs, and apprized him, that it had diſconcerted the Gironde, and that the aſſembly had paſſed to *the order of the day* relative to their madheaded propoſitions. The council commenced, and the king then told them plainly, that he would conſent to give his ſanction to the decree concerning the twenty thouſand men, but that he could not think of complying with that reſpecting the prieſts.

The four miniſters ſpoke to him, the one after the other, with a reſpectful boldneſs, and predicted his ruin. He replied, that he had made up his mind on this ſubject, and then read the copy of a letter to the preſident. He afterwards ſpoke as follows: "I will entruſt you to-morrow with this letter; reflect on it; one of you muſt counterſign it,

it, and you muſt go with it in a body to the aſſembly." Never did Louis ſpeak in ſo imperative a tone before.

Nothing could have a nearer reſemblance to the old government, and nothing was ever leſs befitting conſtitutional miniſters, reſponſible and entruſted with the confidence of a free nation. Dumouriez coolly aſked the king, if he had any more commands for them. "No!" replied the prince, much embarraſſed at the haſty conduct, which his falſe friends had induced him to purſue; and he immediately retired with an appearance of confuſion.

On the breaking up of the council, the miniſters reaſſembled, and reſolved to write to the king, to demand a private audience on the enſuing morning. They agreed that they ſhould not enter into any explanation, all their arguments on this ſubject having been already exhauſted, but that they ſhould ſupplicate him for leave to retire.

In the mean time the Jacobins, and the Girondiſts, as well as Pethion, the mayor of Paris, were diſplaying the utmoſt activity,

morrow at ten o'clock in the morning. I beſeech your majeſty to appoint a ſucceſſour who may be able to replace me, within twenty-four hours, on account of the urgency of buſineſs in the war department, and alſo to accept of my reſignation." He entruſted this important note to Bonne-Carrère, that he might be certain of receiving an anſwer, which arrived at midnight. It was as follows: " I will ſee my miniſters at ten o'clock to-morrow, and we ſhall then ſpeak about the ſubject of your letter."

At the moment when the miniſter received the firſt note from the king, and while he wrote another in anſwer to it, there were four deputies along with him in his cloſet, viz. Rouillé, Lacroix, Herault, and Delmas, belonging to the Impartialiſts, who were intirely ignorant of what was paſſing, and even believed him on extreme good terms with his majeſty: he read to them the billet which he had juſt written, the particulars of which being circulated, opened the eyes of all the Impartialiſts of the aſſembly, who then began to perceive that the miniſter was neither a traitor nor

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make you propoſitions in the name of our party. You are ruined if you do not throw yourſelf into our arms; this is your laſt reſource, and we will ſupport you. You will be the victim of all parties, if you do not conſent to-morrow to act a vigorous part, which I know how to turn to your advantage."

"What is this vigorous part?" ſaid the miniſter, at the ſame time ſmiling.

"It is to make haſte to counterſign the letter with your own hand which the king is deſirous you ſhould preſent to the preſident, leſt another anticipate you, and acquire all the merit of it. In that caſe, we will accommodate the diſpute between you and Lafayette, who is coming to Paris expreſsly for the purpoſe of criminating you. This is the laſt advice of a friend."

"You are atrocious wretches!" ſaid the miniſter to him, without diſcovering the leaſt emotion; "but," added he, "you are no wiſer, after all, than ſo many children. You miſlead the king and the queen, and you will at length ruin them; you imagine yourſelves

yourſelves the ſtronger party, and yet you are only a mere neſt of intriguers. You may tell all this to your coadjutors, and I now adviſe you in my turn,—you who pretend to act the part of a friend,—to withdraw yourſelf from a faction, that will never produce any thing but evil."

This converſation developed to Dumouriez the whole conduct of the Feuillans. Perceiving that they could not enrol the miniſter among their partiſans, notwithſtanding his diſpute with the oppoſite party, they meditated his ruin by employing deceit againſt him, and they had unfortunately prevailed upon the queen to embark in this intrigue, which was ſtill more puerile than perfidious. What had been juſt told him, explained the miſtake fallen into by Lafayette; his indecent letter, of which mention has already been made in the fourth chapter of the preſent book, was leſs directed againſt Roland, Clavieres, and Servan, than Dumouriez; but it became quite miſtimed after their expulſion, and the ſervice that the miniſter had in conſequence of it rendered to the king. Notwithſtanding all this,

this, the general not only perſiſted in cauſing the letter in queſtion to be preſented to the aſſembly, but he himſelf came to Paris expreſsly for the purpoſe of impeaching Dumouriez. It is therefore clear, that this very faction had at firſt deceived the king and queen in order to induce them to deceive Dumouriez, and having now run him down, they were eager to make him either their victim or their ſlave. He ſighed at this ill-concerted piece of atrocity, which indeed only lightened his mind of a grievous burden, while, on the other hand, the whole danger attached to the royal family.

On the 15th, at ten o'clock in the morning, all the miniſters waited on the king, who received them in his cloſet. Duranton opened the council, and obſerved with great reſpect, and even with tenderneſs, that they came with all imaginable regret on purpoſe to give in their reſignation, becauſe it was impoſſible, in oppoſition to their opinion and their conſcience, as well as to his intereſt, to counterſign the letter to the preſident. As he was about to mention the danger of reſponſibility, Lacoſte interrupted him,

in a warm tone of voice ſaid: not our reſponſibility which pre- fire, but your own danger; and you to put a period to it."

The king was much agitated. He turned towards Dumouriez, and ſaid to him: "Do you ſtill entertain the ſame ſentiments as thoſe mentioned in the letter you ſent me laſt night?"

"Yes, ſire, if your majeſty will not permit yourſelf to be convinced by our fidelity, and attachment."

"Very well," replied the king with a very melancholy air, "ſince you are determined, I will accept of your reſignation; I muſt apply elſewhere."

Morgues then preſented him a paper, obſerving at the ſame time, "Sire, here is mine, I deliver it with much regret." The king took it. The two others had not brought theirs in writing, but they gave them verbally.

On leaving the cloſet, he was accoſted by the duke de Nivernois, Laporte, and Septeuil, who were thrown into a ſtate of conſternation when he told them what had occurred.

occurred. Romainvilliers, who commanded the national guard, came to receive his orders, on account of the new commotions in the ſuburbs.

" Go and receive the king's commands, and loſe no time; I am no longer in office; his majeſty has this moment accepted of my reſignation." This intelligence appeared to throw an air of melancholy over every face in the caſtle. He himſelf was deeply affected; not to quit a dangerous place, which during three months had rendered his exiſtence miſerable, but to ſee all his labours loſt, and the king delivered over to the fury of his moſt cruel enemies, by the criminal indiſcretion of his falſe friends. He waited at home during the whole day for the appearance of his two ſucceſſours, for although Naillac had been nominated, and was on his journey home (he arrived three days afterwards), he was well convinced that he would be paſſed over, as the victorious faction would form a council compoſed entirely of Feuillants, whence Naillac would be excluded.

On the evening of the 15th he wrote a

ſecond

him, and in a warm tone of [illegible] him, "It is not our reſponſibili[illegible]s the preſent, vents us, ſire, but your [illegible]e the war depart- we conjure you to put a [illegible]t of the neceſſary

The king was much [illegible] the national guard of towards Dumouriez [illegible]ceive any anſwer. The you ſtill entertain [illegible]as the 16th, paſſed in the thoſe mentioned [illegible]he however ſtill ſigned ſome laſt night? [illegible]ich were abſolutely neceſſary

"Yes, [illegible] departments with which he mit your [illegible]entruſted, notwithſtanding his ex- and ate [illegible]patience to be gone. All the in- "[illegible]nts of Paris, and the members of the very [illegible]bly, by this time knew that he had re- mi [illegible]ed, and they were perhaps aſtoniſhed r [illegible]t he did not go, like Roland, and baſely explain the motives that induced him to retire.

During theſe two days he had not any direct communication with the caſtle, but he forewarned the queen of her danger, by means of a lady to whom ſhe was greatly attached, and cauſed her to be adviſed to prevail upon her auguſt huſband to ſanction the two decrees; an advice, with which ſelf-intereſt was not in the remoteſt degree connected,

nation had been already
accepted. He has ſince
much deceived princeſs was
l at this ſtep. At length, on
the 17th, Chambonas made
, and to him he delivered up
lative to foreign affairs. La-
l thoſe appertaining to the war
. He then retired to the houſe
on de Schomberg, his nephew.

new council was compoſed of Du-
and Lacoſte, both of whom were
d by the king to remain in place, be-
ſe the courtiers had reckoned that this
would have an appearance of impartiality,
and perhaps be the means of treating anew
with the Gironde, by means of Duranton,
who had been nominated entirely through
their influence. They abuſed the good
nature of this man ſo far as to make
him counterſign the *veto*, and preſent it
to the aſſembly. He was near being the
victim of this conduct; and he was ex-
tremely happy, three days after having
been guilty of ſuch a weakneſs, to obtain
his diſmiſſion, and procure leave to return

and conceal his diſgrace in the place of his nativity.

As to Lacoſte, he remained in place contrary to his own inclinations, demanding a ſucceſſour daily, which was not very eaſy to be found. He was involved in the cataſtrophe of the following 10th of Auguſt. His colleagues betook themſelves to flight; but he, who had not any thing to reproach his conſcience with, did not endeavour to conceal himſelf; he remained at his poſt, was ſent to priſon, and afterwards tried.

Chambonas was now miniſter for foreign affairs; he was an amiable man, but did not poſſeſs any knowledge of the buſineſs of this department. Lajarre was the miniſter at war; he had been one of Lafayette's ſtaff, when he was *commandant* of Paris. Terrier de Monciel, a famous Feuillant, and a man of wit, was placed at the head of the home department, and Joly, belonging to the ſame faction, was made miniſter of the finance.

This adminiſtration commenced its career under very ſiniſter auſpices; on the 17th of June, five days afterwards, it witneſſed the

inſults

inſults ſuffered by the king in his own apartment. The hope of vengeance, and the engagements entered into by Lafayette, induced it to run into raſh and culpable meaſures, which proved the ruin of Louis XVI on the 10th of Auguſt. It ſoon began to experience ſome changes. A young man called d'Abancourt, had ſucceeded Lajarre. Dumouriez, being then with the army, and not having kept up any correſpondence with Paris, does not recollect the perſon who was nominated in the room of Duranton.

He now wrote once more to the king, to requeſt an audience for the morning of the eighth, on purpoſe to cloſe his accounts relative to the ſecret expenſes of the foreign department. This laſt interview having been granted him, he went to the caſtle. The moment he was ſeen there, it was ſuppoſed that he was about to re-enter into office, and ſeveral perſons ſurrounded on purpoſe to compliment him on the occaſion.

The king received him in his cloſet. This prince had reſumed his uſual appearance.

Dumouriez was greatly affected. He preſented his accounts for the laſt fortnight; for, very different in this reſpect from his predeceſſours, he had prevailed upon the king to ſettle this buſineſs at the end of every fourteen days. He brought him one liſt, containing only the ſums and the dates when they were paid, but without any ſpecification of perſons: it was this which was ſent to the diplomatic committee. But he at the ſame time preſented another, containing all the particulars, and a bundle of receipts. This prince examined them with great preciſion, and as ſoon as he had ſigned the firſt liſt, the miniſter and he burnt the explanatory one and the receipts. They were very ſcrupulous in this reſpect. Formerly the king retained the explanatory liſt, but Dumouriez, who diſtruſted all the perſons that ſurrounded this prince, had inſiſted on the ſuppreſſion with ſo much warmth, that Louis, partly out of politeneſs, and partly that none might be injured, at length conſented.

When this buſineſs was concluded, he delivered to him ſix ſheets of paper containing

taining the accounts during the three months he had preſided at the foreign department; he at the ſame time left him a general ſtatement ſigned by himſelf, and another containing the amount of the funds of his office, which he left very rich. The king, after evincing much ſatisfaction relative to the exactneſs of his accounts, addreſſed him as follows.

" You are then about to join the army under Luckner?"

" Yes, ſire, I am enchanted at leaving this frightful city. I have but one thing to regret, and that is, you are in danger."

" Yes, certainly!"—ſaid Louis, ſighing at the ſame time.

" Well, ſire, you can now no longer imagine, that I ſpeak from any intereſted motive; removed from your council, I ſhall no longer approach your perſon: it is therefore from fidelity, it is from the pureſt attachment, that I dare once more, and that for the laſt time, ſupplicate you, out of love to your country, out of regard for your own ſafety, and that of your crown, in the name of your auguſt conſort, and of your

intereſting children, not to perſiſt in your fatal reſolution of applying your *veto* to the two decrees. This obſtinacy will not be in the leaſt beneficial, and will aſſuredly prove your ruin."

" Do not ſpeak any more to me on this ſubject, my reſolution is fixed—."

" Ah, ſire, you told me the ſame thing, when in this very apartment, and in preſence of the queen, you pledged your word to me that you would ſanction them."

" I was in the wrong, and I repent of my conduct."

" Sire, I ſhall never ſee you again; pardon therefore my frankneſs, for I am fifty-three years old, and I poſſeſs experience. It was not then you were in the wrong, but at preſent. Your conſcience has been miſled relative to the decree concerning the prieſts: they are leading you into a civil war; you are deſtitute of forces, you muſt therefore ſuccumb, and while hiſtory pities, it will at the ſame time blame you, for having occaſioned the misfortunes of France in conſequence of ill-timed ſcruples. You know how much ridicule this very circumſtance

circumſtance has thrown on the memory of James II. I ſtill more dread the danger you are expoſed to by your friends, than what you are likely to endure from your enemies."

The king was at this moment ſeated near the table where he had been ſigning the accounts. Dumouriez was ſtanding by his ſide with his hands joined. Louis placed his hand on that of Dumouriez, and ſaid to him with a very melancholy air: "God is my witneſs, that I wiſh only for the happineſs of France."

"I doubt it not, ſire," rejoined he with tears in his eyes, and penetrated at the ſame time with the moſt lively ſenſibility, "but you owe an account to God, not only of the purity, but alſo of the enlightened employment of your intentions. You think that you will ſave religion; you will, on the contrary, deſtroy it. The prieſts will be maſſacred, and your crown will be ſnatched from you. Perhaps, you yourſelf, your conſort, your children! . . . . . ." With this, he applied his lips to the hand of

Louis, who on his ſide ſhed tears. A profound ſilence of a few ſeconds enſued.

The king ſqueezed his hand.

" Sire, if the French nation knew you but as well as I do, all our ills would ſoon be at an end. You deſire the happineſs of France; to obtain this, it is neceſſary that you ſhould make a ſacrifice of your own ſcruples. They, who direct your conduct, are blinded by their own intereſt ill underſtood, and by the ſpirit of faction, which miſleads every body during the period of a revolution. You have ſacrificed yourſelf to the nation, ever ſince 1789; continue your career, and the commotions will ceaſe, the conſtitution will be completed, the French will reſume their original character, the reſt of your reign will be happy, and its ſtability will be founded on fixed and certain laws. Had there been a conſtitution before your time, you would never have experienced the crowd of ills that now aſſails you. You are ſtill the arbiter of your own fate; your ſoul is pure; confide in a man exempt from factions and prejudices, in one word, who has always told you the truth."

" I expect

" I expect death," replied the king, ſorrowfully, " and I pardon them beforehand; I am indebted to you for your ſenſibility, you have ſerved me faithfully, I eſteem you, and if happier days ſhould ever arrive, I will afford you proofs of my regard."

He then aroſe with precipitation, and went and placed himſelf at a window at the other end of the apartment. Dumouriez ſlowly collected his papers, that he might have time to compoſe his countenance and prevent the courtiers from obſerving his melancholy as he retired, for this long conference had undoubtedly excited their curioſity. The king, who heard him open the door, made ſome ſteps in order to approach him, and then ſaid to him very affectionately: " Adieu; I wiſh you all manner of happineſs!"

This laſt interview has always remained profoundly engraven on the mind of Dumouriez. Aſſuredly it muſt alſo have often recurred to the memory of this unfortunate monarch, during his impriſonment, and at the moment of his death.

He met his friend Laporte as he went out,

and niece, in a diſtant part of the city, frequenting only ſolitary walks in company with a few friends, and entirely occupied about official accounts, he learned on the 21ſt with the utmoſt grief, that the king had been inſulted; he could not be of any ſervice to him, he therefore ſhut himſelf up at home, but Lacoſte came and communicated the particulars. The noble tranquillity of the prince, and the majeſtic courage diſplayed by the queen and madame Elizabeth, renewed all his ſenſibility. The faithful Lacoſte exhibited the utmoſt courage on this occaſion, and always remained cloſe to the king. He told Dumouriez that at the laſt council, while converſing about a diſpatch, this prince had made an eulogium upon him, and he, in return, now begged his former colleague to aſſure his majeſty of his reſpect and affection.

On the 17th and 18th he had it in his power to be revenged on Lafayette, if his mind had been ſuſceptible of crime and of cruelty. This general had come to Paris, and preſented himſelf before the national

tional aſſembly under the imprudent pretext of being the deputy of his army, whoſe ſignatures affixed to a petition he had brought along with him, on purpoſe to attack the late adminiſtration and the Jacobins, whom he always abſurdly affected to confound together. His faction was now triumphant in conſequence of the diſmiſſion of Dumouriez, and the choice of four new miniſters, who were devoted to himſelf.

A party of national guards had been tampered with beforehand, and he was eſcorted by them to the aſſembly; he was very well received there, although the majority diſapproved of his proceedings. The Jacobins were affrighted at the idea of his triumph; they wiſhed to oppoſe another leader to him, and, notwithſtanding their animoſity againſt Dumouriez, ſuppoſing from his voluntary retreat that he muſt have acted honeſtly, they ferretted out the place of his reſidence, and ſent two deputies to him, who waited upon and ſolicited him to repair to the club.

" If you will but appear there this night," ſaid they, " you ſhall certainly be revenged.

revenged. We are all ready; the dictator has a guard of a hundred men who ſurround his houſe, but we ſhall march there, and as we are ſure of having the people on our ſide, he ſhall moſt certainly periſh."

He ſhuddered at this propoſition. He told them in reply, that his private intereſt was entirely out of the queſtion; that he would never call in any one to his aſſiſtance when he wiſhed to revenge himſelf; and that this motive alone was ſufficient to prevent him from appearing in their hall; that he was entirely occupied in preparing his accounts, that he might immediately return to the army, and that it was there he would exerciſe a vengeance worthy of his patriotiſm, by challenging Lafayette to meet the enemy, in imitation of Cæſar's two centurions Pulfio and Varenus.

It was thus that he got rid of them; and that he prevented a maſſacre, which would have enſued, for the two parties were at that time very conſiderable, and exceedingly incenſed againſt each other. Notwithſtanding this, thoſe attached to the king

king muſt have been overwhelmed, as actually occurred three days afterwards, in conſequence of the cowardice of his adherents during the inſults of the 21ſt of June. In truth, Lafayette had then taken his departure.

If the ſame ſentiments, which influenced Dumouriez on that occaſion, prevented this general from profiting by his triumph, he is truly eſtimable; and this is indeed likely, on account of the acknowledged frankneſs and mildneſs of his character. But having gone all the way to Paris, and made himſelf certain of the aſſiſtance of more than half the national guard, it is aſtoniſhing that he ſhould have contented himſelf with a vain parade, which became an act of imprudence, and proved the complete ruin of his faction. He was from that time conſidered as more vain than ambitious.

Scarcely had he ſet out on his return, when the aſſembly cenſured his conduct, and deemed it exceedingly reprehenſible. It was ſo in fact. An army can never be converted into a deliberative body; and the general, who charges himſelf with the office

of

of being its deputy, renders himſelf highly culpable. After acting ſuch a part as this, he ought to have taken advantage of the aſtoniſhment produced by it.

A decree was now enacted preventing a general from leaving his army in future without obtaining permiſſion, and Marat has ſince endeavoured to pervert this decree, ſo as to affect general Dumouriez, who on his return from Champagne, during the march of his army towards the Low Countries, had repaired to Paris, after having ſent notice of his intentions to the adminiſtration, and this too, ſolely with the intention of ſpending four days in order to arrange with them the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the campaign.

No miniſter could leave Paris before he had delivered in his accounts, and been authoriſed to do ſo by means of an expreſs decree. Dumouriez had occupied two departments, but having been miniſter at war only for three days, and having taken care not to affix his name to any paper which might render him reſponſible, he in reality had not any accounts to deliver in but what related to foreign affairs.

On

On the 22d he wrote to the preſident of the aſſembly, and tranſmitted a ſtatement of the expenſes of the foreign department, informing him at the ſame time that none had occurred during the three days he had been at the head of the war department, becauſe he had not iſſued any money, excepting ſuch as his predeceſſour was accountable for; he at the ſame time announced, that he wiſhed for a decree as ſoon as poſſible, which might reſtore him to his military functions, and that he only waited for it, to ſet off in order to gain marſhal Luckner's army. The very next day the chairman of the diplomatic committee delivered in a report relative to the accounts of the ex-miniſter, and having ſtated them to be conformable to the regulations, a decree was accordingly paſſed on the 24th, and he departed on the 26th.

Theſe accounts were very exact and very ſhort; they conſiſted of three parts, and were drawn up on three ſeparate ſheets of paper. The firſt contained the oſtenſible details of the three months of his adminiſtration: it was accompanied by vouchers and receipts. The economical reforms made by

by him, were at the ſame time mentioned, which left a conſiderable ſum in hand, without affecting the current expences; this was verified by the ſignature of his ſucceſſour Chambonas. The ſecond conſiſted of a certificate ſigned by the king, of the ſecret expences of two hundred and fifty thouſand livres a month, always allowed to the department of foreign affairs; there remained out of the ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand livres for the three months nearly three hundred thouſand; therefore the current ſecret expences did not amount to more than four hundred and fifty, or five hundred thouſand livres; and notwithſtanding this, many improper payments had taken place, during the firſt month, in conſequence of the mere written orders of his predeceſſours. All the arrears of the ſecret penſions allowed to foreigners, and ſome expences liquidated in conſequence of the verbal orders of the king, are alſo to be included. The third conſiſted ſimply of the ſecret expences which were paid out of the famous ſix millions. The ſum total of theſe was four hundred and fifty thouſand

livres; there accordingly remained with Amelot five millions five hundred and fifty thouſand livres.

The ſurpriſe of the aſſembly was extreme. It had been aſſerted in private converſation, and in print, that Dumouriez had certainly purloined theſe ſix millions, becauſe he would not entruſt them to his treaſurer Bidermann; and it was always imagined, that he kept them at home, as he had never mentioned their being left in the national treaſury. The deputies belonging to all the different parties went themſelves to verify the fact by means of Amelot. The Jacobins alſo ſent their emiſſaries thither, and then all the world rendered juſtice to the diſintereſtedneſs and economy of the ex-miniſter.

Briſſot was the reporter of the diplomatic committee; it was therefore likely that the accounts were very regular, elſe he would not have forgotten to find fault with them. He was connected with Bidermann and Clavières; and their rivals had publiſhed pamphlets, in which they were accuſed of having become the miniſter's enemies, merely becauſe

becauſe he would not deliver the ſix millions into their hands, that they might employ them in ſtock-jobbing, and in purchaſing thirteen thouſand ſhares of the Eaſt India company's actions. Briſſot had challenged the miniſter to diſavow this calumny; but he had not deigned to return him any anſwer. The vindictive Briſſot would accordingly have been happy to have diſcovered any errour in his accounts; but, on the contrary, he was forced to declare them exact.

Thoſe very Jacobins, who were then juſt, have ſince given credit to the horrible calumny of Haſſenfratz, who accuſed Dumouriez of having robbed the public of twelve hundred thouſand livres in conſequence of the contracts made in the Low Countries, and alſo of having gotten poſſeſſion of the Antwerp loan: an abſurd charge, for it was neceſſary on this occaſion that he ſhould have a great number of accomplices, whereas in reſpect to the ſix millions, he might have pocketed two or three without the knowledge of any perſon, and even without being obliged to render

any account whatever, of the manner in which they were employed.

The French did him juſtice at the period when he reſigned his place in the adminiſtration. They have been unjuſt ſince, becauſe the crimes committed by them during the interval have rendered them atrocious. He is far however from wiſhing to confound the whole nation in this ſevere judgment. All the worthy people of France, and they are ſtill the greater number, although the time is not yet come for them to declare themſelves, have always done juſtice to him, as he has done to them.

When the reign of anarchy, and the triumph of villains ſhall have paſſed away, they will then read theſe memoirs; and the whole nation, which cannot entertain any manner of doubt reſpecting the facts that have ſo recently occurred before its own eyes, will recognize the real patriotiſm of General Dumouriez, his diſintereſtedneſs, his attachment to the conſtitution, and conſequently to the conſtitutional king, and the ſervices, both political and military, which

which he has rendered to his native country. They will then no longer blame his conduct; even thoſe, who inſtigated the barbarous decree of proſcription againſt him will bluſh. If he be then of an age at which he can prove uſeful to his country, he will devote himſelf anew to her ſervices; if he be dead, his wiſhes will have anticipated this moral revolution, which he can now with confidence predict; becauſe it will infallibly occur, and will be produced by the exceſs of evils, and the impoſſibility of ſuſtaining liberty by means of an abſurd government, founded on barbarity, terrour, and the ſubverſion of all the principles neceſſary for the maintenance of human ſocieties.

He ſet out from Paris for the army, ſtill poorer than at his entrance into office, after having had the diſpoſal of ſeveral millions, during three months. He left the king under the direction of perfidious counſellors; the aſſembly torn in pieces by means of factions ready to come to blows; the capital replete with diſcord, preparing for a civil war, filled with *banditti* from all the provinces,

CHAP. X.

Reflections.

SUCH were the principal events of the miniſterial life of Dumouriez; they have impreſſed on his mind a degree of antipathy to this kind of public employment, which he thinks he ſhall retain during the remainder of his life. It is neceſſary, that a man ſhould either poſſeſs an exalted patriotiſm, or an inſatiable ambition, to aſpire to ſuch tempeſtuous ſituations, ſurrounded as they are with ſnares and calumnies. It is but too readily diſcovered, that mankind ſcarcely deſerve the pains that are taken to govern them.

Dumouriez ſometimes laughs *ſardonically* in his retreat, at the manner in which his conduct has been decried. When he entered into adminiſtration, the courtiers ſaid,

and publiſhed every where, that he was a mere military adventurer, incapable of directing political affairs, in which he would only commit blunders. When he was at the head of an army, they affirmed to the Pruſſians and the Imperialiſts, that he was a man of letters, who had never ſeen ſervice, and that he did not underſtand any thing of military affairs.

Since he has retired from public employments with reputation, they have aſſerted, that until the revolution he was an intriguing adventurer, a ſpy employed by the miniſters, and a mere ſweeper of their offices. The particulars of his life have been detailed in the firſt two books, and alſo the means by which he arrived at the ſame rank at the ſame age with themſelves. Would to God, they had employed their youth in ſimilar purſuits! They would not then have commenced the revolution like ſo many factious men, they would have conducted it with ſagacity, they would have preſerved the eſteem of the nation, and they would not have been the firſt authors of the king's death, either by betraying or abandoning him.

During

During the three months of his adminiſtration, Dumouriez endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the conſtitution and the king, the nation and Louis XVI. It ſo happened however, that he was not only aided by no one, but that the different parties declared againſt him, at firſt one after the other, and then all at once. An univerſal delirium took place throughout France. All the opinions of all the factions became exaggerated. Some attached themſelves to the king as to a *God*, and deemed every exceſs lawful, that might reeſtabliſh the idol of deſpotiſm. The fanaticiſm of theſe excited another criminal fanaticiſm, that of the Jacobins, who avowed a deadly enmity to all kings, and who from the dread of having any, have given themſelves vile tyrants.

Between theſe two extremes a band of rogues, more or leſs hardy, have endeavoured to gain conſequence by changing parties, and fluttering about on the wings of theſe fooliſh factions. Theſe ephemeral Pariſian heroes mutually extol and cruſh each other. Liberty was the word, at the ſound of which

which they rallied: in the opinion of the people, this ſignified licenſe. The rogues of the ſecond order, who wiſhed to occupy the places of the firſt, then raiſed the war-whoop of equality. The populace had its villains alſo, who calculated that this equality would elevate them above the commercial ariſtocracy. The Jacobins, who began to think it was their turn to govern, cried out for a republic, and this produced anarchy.

It is impoſſible to make the nation aſcend though that ſcale of reaſon, which it has deſcended with the rapidity of a maſs that rolls from the top of a mountain over a precipice. The ſerpent recoils upon itſelf. Its tail, which is *anarchy*, re-enters into its mouth, which is *deſpotiſm*. Such is the vicious circle of bad inſtitutions. It is thus that extremes meet, and that contraries cure themſelves by means of contraries.

There is one great truth, which the experience of the misfortunes and the crimes of France ought deeply to engrave on the minds of all nations, and this is, that there are certain exiſting rights, of which, out of

regard to their own happineſs, they ought never to make uſe; that, for example, of enacting laws, and that of employing force againſt laws already made. Nations cannot be too enlightened in reſpect to the firſt of theſe rights: but they will then perceive that they ought to delegate it to a very ſmall number of very ſagacious and experienced perſons, whenever they are obliged to have recourſe to it. If Lycurgus, Solon, Minos, Numa, or Confucius, had laboured in company with a numerous national aſſembly, they would never have achieved a code of laws; it would have been the ſame with Frederic the great, and Catharine II.

By means of pilfering from the ancients and the moderns, the conſtituent aſſembly had nevertheleſs found means, in the midſt of the tempeſts which prevailed within its boſom, to form a grand and beautiful work, *the conſtitution*. But it was a ſtatue of gold placed on a pedeſtal of clay. The nation did not wiſh to complete it. The king, or rather thoſe who ſurrounded him, endeavoured to ſap it baſis: and the conſtitutional

tional party themſelves, out of hatred to the ſucceeding legiſlature, employed the chiſſel and the mallet for no other purpoſe than to mutilate it.

Foreign powers alſo interfered. The court of France cried out to the other courts of Europe: "You will be all ruined, if the French conſtitution be ſuffered to exiſt!" Unfortunately this was believed.

The French people then, in their turn, exclaimed to all other nations: "Riſe in a maſs, and join us!" The Jacobins have gone ſtill further; abuſing every thing, they have deſtroyed every thing,—conſtitution, laws, and religion. It is ſince that period only that they have ceaſed to be dangerous, for it is impoſſible for a ſingle nation on earth, not to hold them in abhorrence.

The conſtitution would not have rendered the French dangerous; on the contrary, being founded on a pure morality, and wiſe principles, it would have guarrantied the neighbouring nations from that reſtleſs ambition, which has cauſed their blood to flow ſo often. They will return to it from neceſſity,

neceſſity, after having exhauſted all the horrours of anarchy, and perhaps all the crimes of deſpotiſm.

It is however doubtful whether the latter will eſtabliſh itſelf in France, becauſe the people have made an ill uſe of it, as well as of liberty. If it enter into France at the head of foreign armies, it will not be able to fix itſelf there, and the laſſitude of dangers and of crimes will give place to reaſon; not to that *guillotine kind of reaſon* which they have ſubſtituted in the place of the ancient worſhip: this will alſo be annihilated after immolating its authors.

During his adminiſtration Dumouriez ſighed at the exceſſes then committed. Theſe exceſſes were mere trifles in compariſon to thoſe that have followed; and every three months they have increaſed in ſuch a manner, as to become at length monſtrous crimes. It is at this period, that their progreſs ſhould be retrograde, in order to ceaſe entirely.

The campaign of 1794, which is now about to open, ought to decide this criſis. In the month of June or July, at the lateſt, the

the fate of France will be determined. The departments demand peace; they feel their calamities. The convention and the Jacobins cry out for war, becauſe they are conſcious of their own danger. They ought to exclaim: "War or death!" The day that peace takes place will be the ſignal for the ceſſation of their reign, unleſs this peace ſhould be the price of their victories, and of the humiliation of all Europe, which is not probable.

The allies and the Jacobins equally wiſh for a battle; it will be bloody and deciſive. If the anarchiſts ſhould loſe it, the departments will deſtroy both the convention and the Jacobins. Paris, which has afforded an example of blindneſs, will alſo afford an example of returning reaſon. The monſters will flee, and will not find any retreat on that earth which they have ſullied with their atrocious crimes. In all probability the Jacobins will not be able to ſurvive the firſt check received by the nation, and the advance of the victorious armies towards the borders of the Seine. It is then that good men will once more raiſe their heads,

heads, that the nation will reſume its character, and that all the people of Europe may hope for peace.

May that happy epoch quickly reſtore wiſdom and humanity, which ſeem to be baniſhed from a war of a new kind, and of which the annals of the world, although amply ſtored with follies and with cruelties, cannot furniſh a ſimilar example.

But how many families will remain miſerable in the midſt of general felicity! It is only the next generation that will begin to enjoy it; the preſent is condemned to ſorrow and want of the comforts of life.

All the inhabitants of France, to whatever factions they may appertain, and whether they be *Moderates*, or *Impartialiſts*, whatever are their ages, their ſexes, or their conditions, are the victims of this hideous revolution. Thoſe whom it has already cut off are perhaps the leaſt to be lamented. Thoſe who have acted any great part on the ſcene have led a life of miſery. The moſt reaſonable have been calumniated; neither virtue, nor principle, have guarrantied any perſon.

To

To wiſh to be wiſe in the midſt of fools, is ſtill more ridiculous than to wiſh to be a fool in the midſt of wiſe men. This however is what has actually occurred to ſome, who, directed by that goodneſs which proceeds from principle, have had the chimerical preſumption to think they ſhould be able to put a ſtop to the impetuous paſſions of their fellow citizens: it was thus that Dumouriez left adminiſtration, hated by all the factions, becauſe they were factions, and that he had remained impartial. He does not reproach himſelf on account of his conduct, but he regrets the ſhare which he had, in ſpite of himſelf, in public affairs. It is neceſſary for him, that he ſhould be tried by his contemporaries, becauſe the facts are recent. His intentions may be disfigured, but facts cannot be altered, and they will get the better of calumny.

He hopes that when the French peruſe theſe memoirs, which were terminated on the 10th of February 1794, they will have recovered from their delirium, that they will acknowledge, to whatever faction they may happen to belong, that his pen, his

heart, his head, and his ſword, have all been uſeful to his country during this terrible criſis; that he has ſerved it as far as he was able without being criminal; that it was the villainy of Marat and the other aſſaſſins of Louis which forced him to leave it; that his inſurrection was meditated only againſt monſters; and that the moment he perceived, that it might be perverted to the profit, tend to ſerve the ambition of foreigners, or become detrimental to his native country, he inſtantly threw down his arms, reſolved not to ſerve againſt her, although he had been calumniated and proſcribed, and a price ſet upon his head. He hopes every thing from time and the ſchool of adverſity, in favour of a nation worthy of a better fate. Its crimes will be effaced, and it will not only reſume its virtues, but acquire new ones, which have always hitherto been wanting: *moderation* and *prudence*.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 51, line 5, f. b. for *Builloud*, read *Bullioud*.
56, in the note, for *Geneva*, read *Genoa*.
74, - 2, for *hand* read *head*.
87, - 6, f. b. for *Andalucia*, read *Andaluſia*.
89, - 6, f. b. for *words* read *wounds*.
91, - 5, f. b. for *general*, read *generals*.
95, - 7, after *himſelf*, add *is*.
95, - 2, f. b. for *Pruſſian* read *Ruſſian*.
98, - 6, f. b. for *this*, read *it*.
176, - 7, f. b. for *ſtandard*, read *ſtationed*.
185, - 6, for *Meaupou*, read *Maupeou*.
194, - 7, f. b. for *with*, read *in*.
200, - 3, for *Ruattan*, read *Rattan*.
205, - 11, for *muſt*, read *ought to*.
208, - 2, for *after* read *offer*.
221, - 4, f. b. after *corps*, inſert *and*.
270, - 10, f. b. for *Lepolo*, read *Leopol*.
280, - 13, f. b. for *Mniſzeck*, read *Mniezeck*.
300, - 4, for *reſted himſelf*, read *remained*.
306, - 12, for *Hygeine*, read *Hygeia*.
—, - 13, for *Therapeutice*, read *Therapeuticks*.
309, - 4, f. b. for *will*, read *wiſh*.
329, - 6, f. b. for *be*, read *Dumouriez*.
337, - 5, before *hold*, inſert *laid*.
351, - 12, f. b. for *confeſſion*, read *confuſion*.
378, - 3, f. b. for *priſon*, read *priſm*.
388, - 4, for *miſamata*, read *miaſmata*.
422, - 2, for *diſadvantage*, read *advantage*.

VOL. II.

67, - 7, f. b. dele *in*.
78, - 8, before *was*, inſert *what*,
95, - 6, for *regemented*, read *regimented*.
100, 101, 103, - 7, 13, 10, for *Belgia*, for *Belgia*, for *Belgia*, read *Belgium*.
121, - ult. for *draw*, read *drawn*.
122, - 10, f. b. for *of*, read *at*.
141, - 7, f. b. for *niaux*, read *nieud*.
174, - 2, *the inverted commas after* labours, *ſhould be after* you, *in line* 4.

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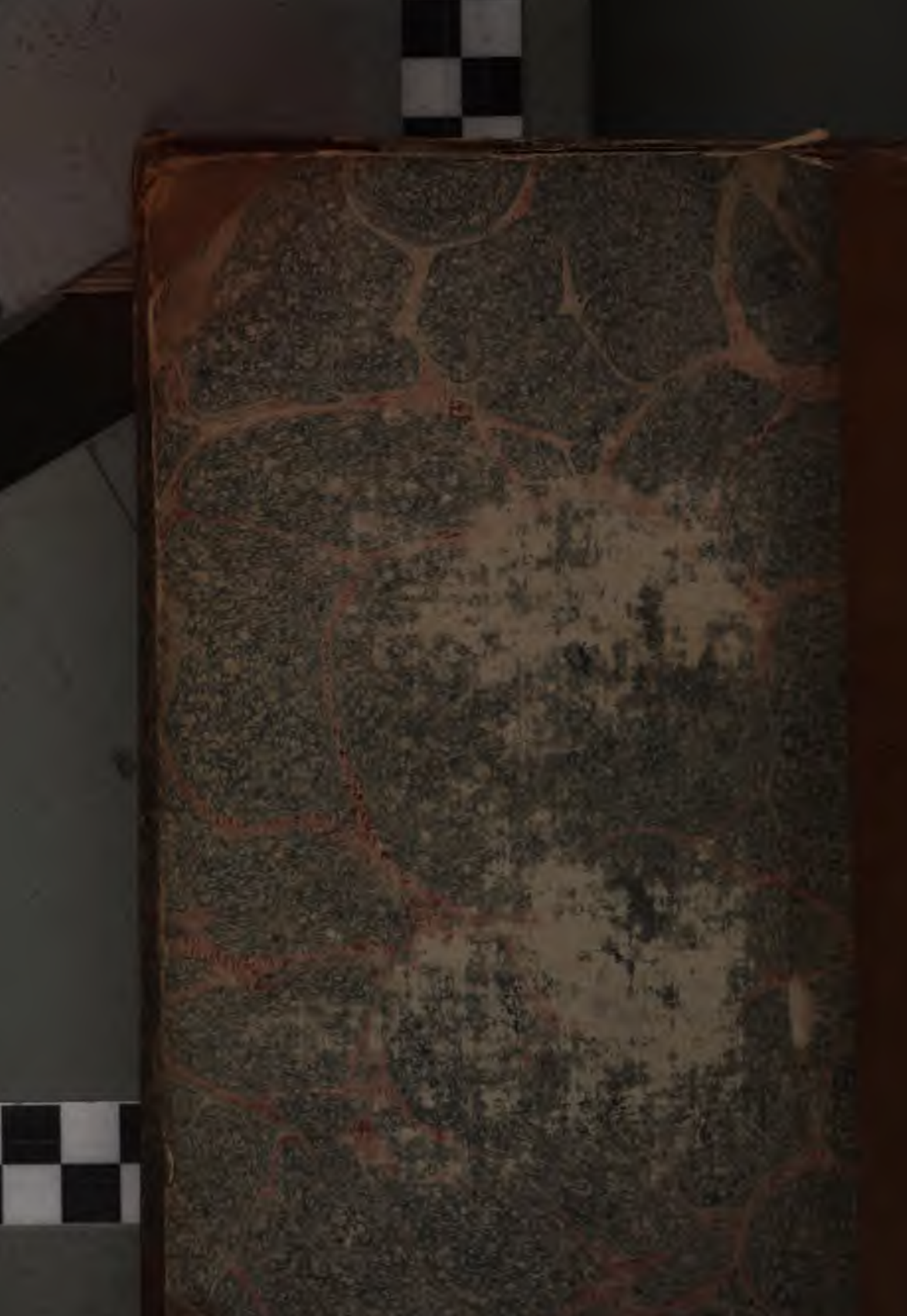
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